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AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

*Founded in 1913*



THE STRYKER SISTERS — By Ralph Earl, 1787

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John Hesselius  
John Durand  
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Christian Gullager  
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## CHRISTIAN GULLAGER

*An Introduction to His Life  
and Some Representative Examples  
of His Work*



*By* LOUISA DRESSER

Worcester Art Museum

## NOTE

**T**HIS article has been prepared, not as a definitive biography of Christian Gullager and catalogue of his work but as an introductory study in connection with the exhibition, Christian Gullager, which opened at the Worcester Art Museum June 18 and is being extended through September 6. It will serve, with the works exhibited, as a basis for an informal round table discussion of Gullager and His Times with special emphasis on art and artists in Boston from the close of the American Revolution to the arrival of Gilbert Stuart. This will be held Wednesday, August 10, from 2 to 4 p. m. preceded by luncheon at 12.30 p. m. All persons interested in the study of early American art are invited to attend. For definite details and luncheon reservations, please write the Worcester Art Museum, 55 Salisbury Street, Worcester 2, Massachusetts.

**N. B.:** *The writer is deeply indebted to many persons for their aid in the preparation of this article and particularly to the director and staff of the American Antiquarian Society, the owners, past and present, of pictures attributed to Gullager, and Mrs. Samuel G. Babcock, Jay M. Kyle, Mrs. William Sawitzky, Mrs. Winthrop H. Thurlow and Miss Hannah Tutt.*



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## CHRISTIAN GULLAGER

### An Introduction to His Life

**O**N November 14, 1789 a Boston newspaper, *The Massachusetts Centinel*, its columns still full of the recent visit of George Washington, declared that "the two best portrait painters of this metropolis" were both to paint portraits of "that illustrious character." One was the Boston-born John Johnston, veteran of the Revolutionary War, the other was Christian Gullager, a Dane by birth and the subject of this study, who, though only thirty and but a few years in Massachusetts, was then nearing the height of his colorful career. Actually, when the newspaper appeared, the President had already granted Gullager a sitting in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the resulting likeness still exists (No. 22).

It is curious that an artist who, in the long interval between Copley's departure for England in 1774 and the arrival of Stuart in 1805, had, if only for a few years, enjoyed the distinction of being one of the two best portrait painters in Boston, should have suffered such neglect as has been Gullager's share in recent times. Considerable information about him is scattered in various publications<sup>1</sup> and much more is doubtless to be found both in printed and manuscript form. The present article is designed to bring the known material together as a basis for further study but a number of readers doubtless already know other references to the artist not indicated here.

Christian Gullager, by all accounts, came to Massachusetts from Europe following the close of the American Revolution. According to information received from Denmark<sup>2</sup> he was born in Copenhagen, March 1, 1759, son of Christian Guldager Prang, servant to the deputy Wasserschlebe, and Marie Elisabeth Dalberg. He studied at the Royal Academy of Arts in Copenhagen and received a prize, *Lille Solvmedaille*, in 1780.

A portrait of Bodel Ache (born Saugaard) was painted by Gullager in 1782. This picture is referred to in letters<sup>3</sup> from Edward Buntzen of

<sup>1</sup>The account given by E. B. Johnston in *Original Portraits of Washington*, 1882, p. 54, is that on which most later ones are apparently based. She acknowledges indebtedness to the artist's descendants, Charles and William Gulager.

<sup>2</sup>D. Helsted in *Weilbachs Kunstsnerleksikon*, Copenhagen, 1947, I. p. 411, based on the following sources: Dannebrog 24.5. 1904; Berlingske Tidende 30.12. 1911 and 15.10. 1933; Nationaltidende 4.2. 1933. (Information supplied by Victor Hermansen, Deputy-Keeper, National Museum, Copenhagen, January 9, 1949.)

<sup>3</sup>Copies of these letters are included in a typewritten document by Herbert W. Gulager, great-grandson of the artist, "Christian Gulager's Portrait of Washington," presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 14, 1934. This document will be referred to in future as H. W. G. It contains copies of family letters and genealogical information.

Copenhagen, Counsellor and Knight of Dannebrog, written in answer to inquiries from Henry Gulager, son of the artist. In the first, dated October 8, 1858, Buntzen discusses whether his grandfather, a wealthy wholesale dealer and ship owner named Andrew Buntzen, was the uncle who, according to family tradition,<sup>4</sup> educated young Christian and sent him to America to work in a mercantile house in Boston.

" . . . if my grandfather has been an uncle to Christian Guldager it has most likely been through his wife probably having been a sister to C. Guldager's mother, who, if so, must have been born "Acke" before she got married. That my grandfather concerned himself very much for his wife's family, and employed all efforts within his power for providing for them I am aware . . . that such a relationship existed the following circumstance speaks; we are namely, possessed of a portrait of an old woman, being a pendant, of two portraits of my grandfather and his wife painted in the year 1781 by Paul Ibson. On said portrait, close by the frame where the name of the artist frequently is used to be cited is plainly written "C. Gullager" 1782. In all probability the portrait may therefore be considered a likeness of the grandmother of Christian Gulelager and likely painted by himself. . . . 2nd P. S. On looking again upon the portrait above mentioned I only remark for the sake of distinctness that the name is C. Gullager written with double *L* — not *ld*."

This letter does not provide positive proof of relationship between Christian Gullager and the Buntzen family but it does indicate that Gullager painted a portrait in Denmark as late as 1782. It also ends discussion as to how his name should be spelled. In spite of the facts that Guldager is apparently a proper Danish spelling and that the artist's family eventually had the spelling changed to insure proper pronunciation in America,<sup>5</sup> the artist himself spelled it "Gullager" even before he left Denmark. He continued to do so in this country and it is so spelled when, as in a signed portrait (See no. 15) or a paid advertisement (with one exception), he himself was directly responsible.

Buntzen's second letter, December 6, 1859, was a more positive statement:

" . . . As to the identity of your father, Christian Gullager and his connection with the Buntzen family there is not the least doubt as your late fathers name is written on a portrait of my grandfathers mother-in-law 'Mrs. Acke' which is preserved in the family. My grandfather being a man of considerable wealth, valuing highly knowledge and learning, educated not a few young men and was a second father to several of his wife's relations. I have ascertained through the present Director

<sup>4</sup>H. W. G.: Letter of Henry Gulager, son of Christian, New York, May 22, 1838.

<sup>5</sup>H. W. G.: Letter of Christian Gullager, II, son of the artist, Philadelphia, May 5, 1858, to his brother Henry, " . . . the alteration in spelling of our name consisted in leaving out one *l*, as our name was formerly spelt Gullager, and that this omission became necessary to enable it to be pronounced Gu lager, which was the pronunciation always given by our late Father, although he was not satisfied with leaving out the letter referred to. You of course are aware that this became necessary, as Gull, could not be pronounced, Gule, in our language."

that your father's name is on the books of the Royal Academy of Arts, having secured a Medal in the year 1780 from the hands of the King's brother Prince Frederick, then President of the said Academy — The Buntzens you speak of as having been resident in the Danish Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies belonged to the family. He was not exactly Governor, but Commander of the Miliatia [sic] forces and Chief of the Customs."

It has often been said that Gullager visited St. Thomas on his way to Boston and this letter indicates that he may indeed have had relatives there but his sons in their earlier letters giving accounts of his life do not mention such a visit. They do refer to possible travel in Europe for purposes of art study. Wrote Charles Gulager March 5, 1832: "The particulars are not known, but it is believed that he traveled several years under the patronage of the King for the perfection of his art." Henry Gulager, May 22, 1838, simply stated that the medal from the Royal Academy was received "with the privilege of traveling through Europe at the King's private expense for three years." If indeed Gullager did do such traveling the chances are that his study of art was not pursued too seriously.

The earliest evidence of his presence in Massachusetts may be found in the vital records of Newburyport where the following marriage appears:

"Gulliger, Christian, and Mary Selman, May 9, 1786."<sup>6</sup>

His bride was the daughter of William and Mary Maley of Marblehead where she had been baptized December 14, 1760.<sup>7</sup> She had married Samuel Sellman as her first husband<sup>8</sup> December 24, 1780. Mrs. Gullager was evidently a superior woman. According to her son Henry, she was of good family and was "a woman of strong mind and intelligence."<sup>9</sup> She probably did what she could to make a success of her marriage but this, as will be seen, proved impossible. An account book<sup>10</sup> begun by "Polly" Selman November 9, 1784, is still in existence. On the back page are entered the names and dates of birth of her children:

"Caroline was born April the 5th 1787  
William was born December the 24th 1788  
Christian was born September 22nd 1789  
Mary was born November 20th 1790  
Andrew was born July 4th 1793  
Charls was born April the 14th 1794

<sup>6</sup>*Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1911, II, p. 204.*

<sup>7</sup>*Vital Records of Marblehead, Massachusetts, 1903, I, p. 332.*

<sup>8</sup>*Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts, op. cit. II, p. 426 (I, p. 346 lists the following: "Selman, Samuel, s. Samuel, bp. Mar. 10, 1782," probably the baptism of a son of Mary Maley Selman.)*

<sup>9</sup>H. W. G.: Letter of Henry Gulager, May 22, 1838.

<sup>10</sup>Owned by Jay M. Kyle, Boyertown, Pennsylvania, step-son of Herbert W. Gulager.

Henry was born August the 12th 1795  
Benjamin was born July 16th 1798  
Eliza was born August 10th 1800"

This list was copied into the family Bible<sup>11</sup> with the words son or daughter of Christian and Mary Gulager accompanying each name and with 1790 as the date of birth of Christian and 1791 that of Mary. A more recent listing<sup>12</sup> indicates that the first four children were born in Boston, the second four in New York and the youngest in Philadelphia.

Five portraits of Newburyport residents have been attributed to Gullager, Captain Offin Boardman and his wife (Nos. 3 and 4) and Captain Coats and his wife and daughter (Nos. 6, 7, and 8). Early inscriptions on the Boardman portraits date them 1787 and it is possible that the Coats portraits were painted about this period also. Strongly linked with them is the likeness of the Rev. Eli Forbes of Gloucester (No. 10) which bears a nineteenth century label indicating that the picture was painted by "an Italian artist — Guilegaire." These portraits have little about them to indicate extended European study and, if they are the work of Christian Gullager, as is confidently believed to be the case, it must be concluded that he did not arrive here with his manner fully formed and that his later achievements were as much the result of the practice of his art in this country as of foreign training. These Newburyport and Gloucester pictures<sup>13</sup> are robust and vital. Faces are heavy-featured, hands awkwardly drawn, but there is already the assurance in the painting of costume detail, particularly sheer ruffles, which is a characteristic of Gullager's best work. These portraits are a valuable record of the vigorous, confident people who were the strength of eighteenth century New England.

It is probable that Gullager moved with his family to Boston shortly after painting the Boardman portraits. The 1789 directory lists him as

<sup>11</sup>Preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, gift of Herbert W. Gulager.

<sup>12</sup>H. W. G. The dates of death are also given here as follows: Caroline, September 29, 1856; William, November 3, 1848; Christian, June 25, 1863; Mary, December 18, 1879; Andrew, no date given; Charles, March 9, 1840; Henry, August 15, 1863; Benjamin, August 30, 1810; and Eliza, September 15, 1800. (These three family birth records differ among themselves as to the day of the month on which five of the children were born. The published birth records of Boston do not list the four births said to have taken place there. New York vital records only date back to 1853 and those of Philadelphia to 1860.)

<sup>13</sup>To which may probably also be added the portraits of David Plumer (1738-1801) and his wife, Mary Sargent Plumer, which are owned by the Sargent-Murray-Gilman-Hough House Association in Gloucester, gift of Marguerite Plumer Burnham, great-granddaughter of the sitters. These are unfortunately, at the time of writing, known only by photograph to the writer. The man holds a Salem newspaper in his hand; the woman wears an elaborate flowered and ruffled headdress. A second version of the portrait of Plumer is owned by the Association. Letters from Winthrop Sargent, Jr., president of the Association, March 26, 1940, and Mrs. C. L. Hersey, secretary, February 14, 1949. S. Perley, *The Plumer Genealogy*, 1917, pp. 90-91. Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits Found in Massachusetts*, 1939, II, p. 322. The inventory of David Plumer, Essex County Probate Records, no. 22124, does not mention portraits.

a portrait painter in Hanover Street and he seems to have achieved success there very quickly. We have considerable knowledge of his career during this year and the one which followed when "Chris. Gulliger" was listed, on Saturday, August 7, 1790, as an inhabitant of Boston.<sup>14</sup> His signed and dated portrait of Colonel John May (No. 15), of basic importance for a study of his work, was painted early in 1789 before the subject's departure April 23 for a trip to Ohio. When the wife of Samuel Salisbury, wealthy hardware merchant, died suddenly March 25, it was to Gullager that her bereaved husband turned for a posthumous likeness which was so satisfactory that her brother-in-law, Stephen Salisbury of Worcester also had one painted (See comments on No. 17). Gullager did considerable work for the Salisbury family and at least twice journeyed to Worcester for the purpose. The first visit, one of considerable length, was recorded by Stephen Salisbury in an account<sup>15</sup> with Captain Levi Pease of Worcester, Innholder. Among entries for 1789 appear the following:

May	By Sister Barrett from Boston .....	9
	Little Lucy from d <sup>o</sup> .....	0 0 0
17 & 25	By Stephen Salisbury to & from d <sup>o</sup> .....	- 18 -
	M <sup>r</sup> Gullagars from d <sup>o</sup> .....	- 9 -
	Betsy Salisbury from d <sup>o</sup> .....	- 9 -
	Little Maria & Josiah .....	0 0 0
June 13	By M <sup>r</sup> Gullagars passage to Boston .....	- 9 -
25 & July 6	By Stephen Passage to & from Boston .....	- 18 -
June 25	By Sister Barrett to Boston Betsy 4/6 .....	- 13 6
	Betsy Salisbury to d <sup>o</sup> .....	- 9 -
	Little Maria S y Little Lucy B .....	0 0 0

Assuming that Gullager arrived in Worcester on May 25 with Mr. Salisbury his visit lasted nineteen days. Presumably at least three members of the Salisbury family were painted at that time: Stephen Salisbury himself (No. 19), his sister Elizabeth Barrett (No. 1), who was making an extended visit, and their aged mother, Mrs. Nicholas Salisbury (No. 18) who, in her eighty-fifth year, could hardly have travelled to Boston for the purpose. The portrait of Mrs. Salisbury, one of the artist's finest accomplishments, portrays alert and vigorous old age in a manner which makes Gullager seem a worthy successor of Copley in the history of New

<sup>14</sup>*Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston Containing . . . the Names of the Inhabitants of Boston in 1790 as Collected for the First National Census*, 1890, p. 469. In his household were one free white male under sixteen years and three free white females under sixteen years.

<sup>15</sup>On page 286 of a very large ledger (P G) preserved at the American Antiquarian Society. The date of this entry was incorrectly given as 1788 in *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930) p. 3.

England portraiture. In September 1789 Gullager returned to Worcester to keep an appointment with Daniel Waldo, brother-in-law of Stephen Salisbury, and probably the two Waldo portraits (Nos. 20 and 21) resulted. These complete the list of the known paintings done by Gullager for the Salisburys at this time. There is a chance, however, that he may have used his paint brush while in Worcester to "touch up" some of their family portraits. Daniel Waldo's parents, Cornelius and Faith (Savage) Waldo were painted by Joseph Badger but their portraits,<sup>16</sup> which hang in the Worcester Art Museum today, have some very un-Badgerlike characteristics such as the fringed curtain draped in the upper right-hand corner of Mrs. Waldo's portrait. William Sawitzky once suggested that these "improvements" might have been the work of Gullager and it seems likely that such was the case. He may also have been the person who worked on the portrait of Martha (Salisbury) Quincy likewise owned by the Worcester Art Museum, which has in the past been attributed to both Smeibert and Badger. Of it Lawrence Park wrote: "The entire canvas has not only been repainted and not in Badger's colors, but the curtain and the ribbon at the neck have almost certainly been added by the 'restorer.'"<sup>17</sup> These seem to be in Gullager's manner.

So closely related to the portraits of the Salisbury women by Gullager is his likeness of Dorothy (Lynde) Dix (No. 9) that it seems probable he painted it about the same time and in Worcester where Mrs. Dix lived until 1795. She wears a particularly fine example of the frilled and beribboned "queen's night-cap" which was popular with the ladies in 1789-90,<sup>18</sup> and in painting which Gullager apparently took great delight.

The visit of George Washington to Boston in October 1789 was a challenge to an enterprising artist and on October 27 Gullager managed to establish himself in "a Pew behind the pulpit" of King's Chapel while the President listened to a concert of sacred music. He made a sketch at that time, and, a week later, having followed the presidential party to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, had the privilege of a two-hour sitting. It is interesting to compare the portrait which resulted (No. 22) with that by Edward Savage<sup>19</sup> for whom Washington sat in New York the following December 21 and 28 and January 6, which is owned by Harvard Univer-

<sup>16</sup>L. Park, *Joseph Badger*, 1918, pp. 44-45. Worcester Art Museum Bulletin VI, no. 2, (1915) pp. 6, 7 (repr.).

<sup>17</sup>L. Park, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup>See also Ralph Earl's portrait, *Mrs. Moses Seymour and Son* signed and dated 1789, recently acquired by the City Art Museum of St. Louis. Reproduced in *The Art News* XLVII, no. 5 (September, 1948), p. 27.

<sup>19</sup>J. H. Morgan and M. Fielding, *The Life Portraits of Washington*, 1931, pp. 178, 179, 180 (repr.).

sity. It is hard to realize that they represent the same man at almost exactly the same period in his life. The portrait which John Johnston, Boston artist, intended to paint of Washington, "designed for *Faneuil-Hall* — to sit for which the President was requested by the Selectmen of this town when he was here,"<sup>20</sup> is not known today, if indeed it was painted. Gullager, himself, as is indicated in the comments on No. 22, had an interest in placing a bust of Washington in *Faneuil Hall*, and actually received permission to do so June 16, 1790.

This was apparently a busy, happy period in the artist's life. At least it appears so in the family papers which reflect the tradition handed down to his children. His portrait of Washington was "considered a superb painting and likeness and at that time the only correct one in America and thousands of the citizens of Boston and strangers visited the picture gallery of Mr. Gullager to see it. Busts also in plaster and medals equally admired were cast from it in great numbers by him, . . . At the time the likeness of Washington was taken the citizens of Boston offered him Five Hundred dollars for it that it might be placed in *Faneuil Hall* but it was refused."<sup>21</sup>

Gullager's original portrait of Washington became the possession of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, minister of the Federal Street Church, who in August, 1790, was instrumental in founding the Massachusetts Historical Society, which now owns it. One of the interleaved almanacs in which Dr. Belknap kept a casual journal<sup>22</sup> contains an entry for November 1789 which tells of another aspect of Gullager's artistic activity:

"<sup>20</sup> Went to Newtown w[ith] Mr Elliot & Mr Gullager — the latter took 2 perspective views — one of the fall from a point of Rocks below it. another of the House & other buildings from a Station abt 4 Rods from the S W corner of the House within the fence. a very fine day for the Time of year — "

Were these "perspective views" perhaps made to be engraved? Gullager was doing some illustrative work about this time. The frontispiece of volume two of *The Massachusetts Magazine*, 1790, "Europe, America, Asia, Africa The Rights of Men," was engraved by Samuel Hill after Gullager and so was that of "Oûabi or the Virtues of Nature" by "Philenia, a Lady of Boston" published in the same year (Nos. 28 and 29). He is credited with having designed the seal engraved by Joseph Callender for the Society established in Massachusetts for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others. The seal, but not Gullager's part in it, was mentioned in a letter from Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia to Dr.

<sup>20</sup>*Massachusetts Sentinel*, November 14, 1789.

<sup>21</sup>H. W. G. Letter from Charles Gullager to Henry Gullager, March 5, 1832.

<sup>22</sup>Preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Belknap, July 30, 1791: "Callender's Engraving does not strike me as agreeably as the device for the Society's Seal."<sup>23</sup> Gullager had numerous portrait commissions in the early 'nineties. Some of his sitters were people of prominence: The Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, and George Richards Minot, judge and historian, both of whom were associated with Dr. Belknap in the foundation of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Nos. 11 and 16). Some were fashionable young gentlemen: Benjamin Goldthwait and Samuel Barton (Nos. 12 and 2), both of whom died in their twenties. He also painted about this time on small canvases the likenesses of Daniel Greenleaf and his wife (Nos. 13 and 14). All of these persons were then living in Boston.

It is puzzling to know when Gullager went to New York. According to family records a child of his was born there July 4, 1793, another April 14, 1794 and a third August 12, 1795. In the Boston directory for 1796 "Gulager Christian, limner, Tremont street" is listed. It is possible that he did try his fortune in New York from 1793 to 1795 and then returned to Boston. Perhaps it was the opportunity to paint scenery for the Federal Street theatre which brought him. This structure opened its doors February 3, 1794 and was burned February 2, 1798.<sup>24</sup> William Dunlap saw Gullager in New York in 1806 and the following day wrote of him: "He was the principal scene painter for the Boston Federal Street Theatre at its first establishment (I mean the house that was burnt) and painted all the scenery."<sup>25</sup> As this information was presumably procured from Gullager himself, who was then looking for a job, it may be a slight overstatement. Early in 1797 the artist was probably still in Boston for on January 9 Stephen Salisbury wrote from Worcester to Elizabeth Tuckerman at Boston who was about to become his wife: "Should Mr Gullager not wait on you tomorrow, oblige me so much as to desire your Brother Edward to remind him of his Engagement."<sup>26</sup> The three portraits of David West,

<sup>23</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, III (1877) (5th series) p. 269 (Charles Deane, the editor, in a note, states that Gullager was the designer but does not say on what he bases the information.)

<sup>24</sup>W. W. Clapp, Jr., *A Record of the Boston Stage*, 1853 pp. 19, 59.

<sup>25</sup>Diary of William Dunlap, 1931, II, 407.

<sup>26</sup>Salisbury Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society. It is possible that Gullager did keep his engagement and that a portrait of Elizabeth (Tuckerman) Salisbury owned by the Worcester Art Museum may be by him. This theory is advanced and the portrait reproduced by H. M. Forbes in "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI, 1930 pp. 7, 10. Mrs. Forbes thought that Gullager might not have painted the portrait right away as in a letter of October 24, 1797, Stephen wrote his wife, "I am glad to hear that Brother Wier has got a good likeness of his late Amiable Companion. I hope you will be so fortunate as to have as good, or better if possible." This remark, however, may not have implied that a portrait of Mrs. Salisbury was still to be painted, but that Mrs. Salisbury was trying to procure as good a likeness of her sister, Lucretia (Tuckerman) Wier as her brother-in-law then had. Actually the

Boston bookseller and publisher, his son David, and daughter Abigail (Nos. 23, 24, and 25) were presumably painted about this time for Abigail, shown as a baby, was born February 2, 1796.

Gullager evidently did not linger long in Boston. He advertised in the *Minerva*, New York, September 18, 1797, and in the *Commercial Advertiser* there October 2, 1797. The two advertisements are practically alike except that, in the first, his name is wrongly spelled "GULLIGER," and above the second appears a striking representation of a palette and brushes ornamented with leaves. The text given in the *Commercial Advertiser* follows:

C. Gullager,  
PORTRAIT and THEATRICAL PAINTER,  
No 58 Maiden-lane, New-York.

PORTRAITS, from whole Lengths to Busts, on any scale;  
DECORATIONS for Public and Private Buildings;  
FRONTISPICES or VIGNETS, for Publications on History, Allegory or Sentiment;  
PAINTINGS on SILKS, for Military Standards or other ornamental purposes.

Mr. GULLAGER contemplates the establishment of a regular DRAWING ACADEMY should he be fortunate in meeting the good opinion and patronage of men of taste. Educated from his youth at the academy in Copenhagen he flatters himself he possesses requisite talents for such an academy.

N. B. He requests those who may honor him with their presence, to call at his room from 10 to 12 A. M. and from 3 to 5 P. M. Should his talents and terms meet their approbation, he will with pleasure and punctuality attend professional orders.

october 2

The same advertisement, omitting the two sentences referring to a drawing academy, and with minor errors, later corrected, was inserted in *The Time Piece*, October 11, 1797<sup>27</sup> and repeated in the issues from October 13 through November 6, and from November 10 through 17. The October issues carried the ornamental heading of palette, brushes and leaves. This was omitted in November.

In spite of such thorough advertising another six months found Gullager in Philadelphia, apparently in advance of his family if one is to believe the family record that his son, Benjamin, was born in New York, July 16, 1798. His advertisement<sup>28</sup> in the *Gazette of the United States*, Philadelphia, May 10, 1798, shows him sarcastically attacking a rival artist:

Worcester Art Museum owns an oil of Mrs. Wier which Mrs. Forbes thinks may be by Gullager, *op. cit.* p. 9 (repr.) and a miniature of her attributed to William Lovett to which a bill presented by him to Stephen Salisbury, November 7, 1797, presumably refers, *op. cit.* pp. 10, 11 (repr.). Both show the same features and the head in relatively the same position. The oil is probably Brother Wier's likeness and the miniature that "as good, or better if possible" which Mr. Salisbury hoped his wife would have. Whether or not the oils of Mrs. Salisbury and Mrs. Wier were painted by Gullager remains a matter for discussion. Both have points which resemble his work but for the present they remain listed as by an artist or artists unknown.

<sup>27</sup>W. Kelby, *Notes on American Artists, 1754-1820*, 1922, pp. 40-41.

<sup>28</sup>Located through A. C. Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1786-1800*, 1932 series 2, pp. 13-14.

### Military Colours.

*At C. GULLAGER's*

*Portrait and Ornamental Painting Rooms*, No. 50, South Fourth, next to Chestnut street, opposite the Friends' Meeting.

PAINTING on silks for Military and other ornamental purposes (in a manner peculiar to himself) durable, not to be injured by the weather, which for elegance of design, truth and beauty of colouring, neatness and masterly execution, has not been equalled by George Rutter and Co.

### FLAGS and DRUMS

Furnished with all possible dispatch, on the most reasonable terms. Ornamental Painting, Signs, Fire Buckets, Cornices, &c. &c. executed in stile (not that superb stile of modern elegance peculiar to G. R.) but in a workman like manner, peculiar to an artist master of his profession.

Mr. GULLAGER, from a number of year's experience in Europe and this country, flatters himself that professional talents, punctuality, and reasonable demands, will meet the entire approbation of those gentlemen who will please to call at his Painting Rooms.

may 5

### NOTICE

P. S. Gentlemen in town and country, wishing for a supply of Colours and Drums, painted in a masterly manner, will no doubt feel themselves obliged for the kind caution given by George Rutter and Co. not to trust self-flattering advertisements, but examine the work executed by both parties—One view will satisfy them where the superiority lies,—save the spoiling of good silks by George Rutter's pencil—and discover the requisites for the contracting talents of Henry Frailey, at Germantown.

may 10

The George Rutter referred to had been running an advertisement in the same paper beginning May 3 in which he spoke of his "20 years experience" in Philadelphia. Gullager placed the first part of his advertisement, without the paragraph headed NOTICE, on May 5. Rutter replied in the issue of May 8 with a notice which began: "Having observed an advertisement of C. Gullager, in terms derogatory of our professional abilities, we have to request the public not to be imposed upon by foreign artists; but to decide upon the merits of each by a comparison of the work executed by both, . . ." and concluded "N. B. In future no attention will be paid to the self-flattering advertisements of Mr. G."

Gullager retaliated with the addition of his NOTICE on May 10 and the advertisements of each, with the attached notices, continued through the issue of June 25!

The portrait painter, John Wesley Jarvis, reminiscing about the past, recalled among the painters in Philadelphia in his schoolboy days "Gallagher, a painter of portraits and signs, he was a German who, with his hat over one eye, was more *au fait* at walking Chestnut Street, than at either face or sign painting" and "Rutter, an honest sign painter, who never pretended or aspired to paint the human face divine, except to hang on the outside of a house."<sup>29</sup> It seems likely that, in referring to Gallagher, he really meant Gullager, but if so, since he was born in 1780, he was hardly

<sup>29</sup>W. Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (edited by F. W. Bayley and C. E. Goodspeed), 1918, II, p. 211.

a schoolboy when he first saw Gullager unless the latter was in Philadelphia for a time at an earlier date.

Gullager is first listed in the Philadelphia directories in 1798 and continues to appear until 1805. The entries are as follows:

- 1798 "Gullager Christian, potter painter, Noble st."
- 1800 "Gullager Christian, portrait and ornamental painter  
33 north Fourth st"
- 1801 "North Front Street."
- 1802 "93 Christian Gullager, portrait and ornamental painter"
- 1803 "Gullagea Christian, miniature painter 221 N 2d"
- 1804 "Gullager Christian, miniature painter 70 Mulberry"
- 1805 "Gullagher Christian, miniature painter 70 Mulberry"

In 1806 there is an almost inexplicable entry which is repeated in 1807 and 1808: "Gullager widow of Christian, 70 Mulberry."

In 1809 it becomes: "Gullager Mrs. shopkeeper 70 Mulberry" and so continues through 1814. In 1816 and 1817 the address is changed to "237 High."

The reason this entry needs explanation is that we know Gullager lived twenty years longer. It is possible that at this time he and his wife separated and she, being left without a husband, was listed as a widow. Certainly in August 1806, Gullager was in New York, job-hunting. On the 14th of that month, William Dunlap in New York wrote to Thomas A. Cooper the following from which a quotation has already been made:

"During my search for Caton I heard of a gentleman by name Guligher and last eveng saw & conversed with him. He is an artist of great merit as a painter generally and has been for some years past engaged in portrait painting. He was the principal scene painter for the Boston Federal Street Theatre at its first establishment (I mean the house that was burnt) and painted all the scenery. He has the manners of a gentleman & man of sense. He is willing to engage for one season as principal Scene painter and waits your answer to this for your terms. I think you need not hesitate to engage him for the coming season as the person Pownal engages, if he gets any, can not be here till late in the season, and then you know you will certainly have your choice of "Tom and Dick." . . .

Yours truly  
W D

P. S. I look for an answer respecting Guligher by the 23d after which I ought to start for Nantucket & Boston if I go at all. Mr Bullfinch the Architect is an object<sup>20</sup>

Years later when writing his history of the arts of design published in 1834 Dunlap gave further information which, though he spells the name Gallagher, seems to refer to Gullager. He describes him as follows:

"A foreign artist, who painted portraits in Philadelphia at this time, and perhaps earlier. When there was a lack of portraits to do, he painted signs. He had a dashy,

<sup>20</sup>*Diary of William Dunlap*, 1931, II, pp. 407-408.

sketchy manner, and had been well instructed in the rudiments of drawing. In 1807, Thomas A. Cooper employed him in New York as scene painter; but however great Gallagher's taste for the arts might be, his taste for lounging was greater, and, unfortunately for him, Cooper had been used to the rapid and effective manner of John J. Holland. He began a kitchen scene very beautifully, and might have made it rival a Dutch picture, but week after week passed, and the scene was not ready for the stage. 'Some time next year,' said the manager, 'I may have *one* scene from Mr. Gallagher, and it will cost more than a Van Dyck or a Titian.'

"Gallagher used to come every Saturday with the accounts of the scene department in his hand, and walk the stage during rehearsal to Cooper's great annoyance. 'What does that man do *here*? I will not pay him \$30 a week to walk with his hat on one side, and his hands in his pockets!' Gallagher was dismissed, and I lost sight of him."<sup>31</sup>

One gathers that Gullager was able to make a pleasant first impression, and that his work was well-regarded but his carelessness and dilatory ways alienated those with whom he was associated for long. His character was well known to his children. His son Henry wrote of him May 22, 1838:

"Christian Gulager, Sen. was a man of easy and elegant manners, spoke all the modern languages with great fluency but having been brought up in affluence and his lot having been cast in a foreign land, under circumstances previously mentioned and no way calculated to application or prudence as a matter of course never made that figure or established a character which his eminent talents in his profession would have undoubtedly secured him.

"These facts are authentic, having obtained them from my Mother, who was a woman of strong mind and intelligence."

Mrs. Gullager asserted her strength of mind by determining to divorce her artist husband and her divorce paper is still in the possession of the family.<sup>32</sup> The case was heard in the Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, December 1809, with Mary Gullager represented by her "next friend John Conrad," and on the 27th it was decreed that "the said Mary Gullager be divorced and separated from him the said Christian Gullager's society fellowship and company in all time to come . . . and from the marriage bond entered into between them, as if she had never been married or as if he the said Christian Gullager were naturally dead."

Mrs. Gullager divorced her husband, according to family tradition "on account of his inability to support her, and his gambling propensities."<sup>33</sup> It is significant that, in her will,<sup>34</sup> made in 1822, she provided trust funds for her two surviving daughters, Caroline (wife of Jacob Adams) and

<sup>31</sup>Dunlap, *History . . . of the Arts of Design*, 1918, II, pp. 284-285.

<sup>32</sup>Owned by J. M. Kyle, Boyertown, Pennsylvania.

<sup>33</sup>H. W. G. Letter of her great-granddaughter, Mrs. L. W. Gulager, to William Gulager, April 24, 1901.

<sup>34</sup>Philadelphia Wills, No. 119-Vol. 11, p. 489.

Mary. The latter was unmarried and it was stated that the trust fund should be without interference from any husband she might have or take "or liability to or for his debts and engagements." Mrs. Gullager died July 29, 1835.<sup>35</sup> She had continued to live in Philadelphia and was listed at various addresses, in 1818, at 239 Mulberry Street; in 1820-22 at 19 Arch Street, and in 1825 at 229 Mulberry Street where she apparently lived until her death. The 1825 directory lists Jacob Adams, her son-in-law, at 66 Mulberry Street. It was to the Adams house that Christian Gullager came for refuge and care at the end of his life. Mrs. L. W. Gulager, granddaughter of Jacob Adams, thus recorded the event:

"When my mother was a young woman one evening *her* mother was out, and mother answered the door bell. There stood a handsome old gentleman, with a cloak thrown across his shoulders. He inquired for Mrs. Adams and finding she was out he left. When on her return mother told her she said it was *her* father. He came again begging grandma for a home. She took him in and took care of him — None of the sons came to the house, all taking [their] mother's part — One morning mother carried his breakfast to him, he was speechless — had a paralytic stroke during the night — That was the end."<sup>36</sup>

According to the family records he died November 12, 1826 at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>37</sup>

In the following pages twenty-seven portraits and two engravings are discussed and reproduced. An effort has been made to indicate clearly the reason why each is considered the work of Gullager. There are a number which are included only on the basis of present day attribution and it must be kept in mind that other artists trained in the same tradition might have produced pictures so like known works by Gullager as to be deceptive. In others the attribution is strengthened by a nineteenth century tradition that Gullager was the artist. It should be remembered that such traditions are not infallible. New evidence may be discovered at any time to prove that certain of the pictures reproduced here should be otherwise attributed. In making additional attributions the basic portrait with which comparisons can most safely be made is that of Colonel John May (No. 15).

Unfortunately certain pictures known to have been painted by Gullager have not yet been located. Mention has been made of that of Bodel Ache signed and dated 1782. Discovery of this picture would show the artist's

<sup>35</sup>H. W. G. Bible.

<sup>36</sup>H. W. G. Letter of April 24, 1901. Mrs. L. W. Gulager was Laura Ball, daughter of Elizabeth Quincy (Adams) and Benjamin B. Ball and granddaughter of Caroline (Gulager) and Jacob Adams. W. B. Wright, *Ball Family Records*, 1908, pp. 170-171.

<sup>37</sup>H. W. G. Bible.

style before his departure for New England and would be significant in the further study of the Newburyport and Gloucester pictures. A likeness of the artist's wife was at one time in the possession of his son Henry who wrote describing a "Memorandum marked on the back of my dear Mother's portrait" which contained the information that it was "Painted in the year 1790."<sup>38</sup> L. W. Gulager, son of Henry, stated in 1901:

"There is an unfinished picture of grandmother now in possession of Mrs. P. D. Gulager, it bears the name of C. G. in the corner and properly belongs to Laura my wife."<sup>39</sup>

Of a third picture information comes from the husband of a great-granddaughter of the artist who remembers a portrait "which was discarded — put up attic & used there, by her brothers, as a dart board, until it was riddled to shreds & then burned. Subject, Christian Gullager & his wife — sitting side by side — painted in profile."<sup>40</sup> A number of other portraits have been attributed to Gullager but are not reproduced and discussed at length here largely because the writer has either not had sufficient opportunity to study them and their history or does not feel completely convinced of the attribution. The Plumer portraits and those of Elizabeth (Tuckerman) Salisbury and Lucretia (Tuckerman) Wier have already been mentioned (notes 13 and 26). Of the portrait of Joseph Servoss, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Sawitzky wrote, "Artist unknown, but on technical grounds it is herewith attributed to Christian Gullager."<sup>41</sup> The resemblance is strongest to the portrait of Captain Offin Boardman (No. 3). A portrait said to represent Ebenezer Bancroft, owned by the Estate of Francis P. Garvan, has many points of similarity to Gullager's known work. That of a "Mrs. West" owned by Mrs. Katherine Prentis Murphy has been attributed to Gullager by Mrs. William Sawitzky and has recently been so exhibited.<sup>42</sup> Nothing is known of its history to link it with the West portraits owned by the American Antiquarian Society (Nos. 23, 24 and 25). Two portraits said to represent the Hon. and Mrs. John Davis have been attributed to Gullager, apparently with justification as far as can be judged from photographs.<sup>43</sup> In 1941 Mr. and Mrs. William Sawitzky examined a portrait of Ann

<sup>38</sup>H. W. G. Undated.

<sup>39</sup>H. W. G. Letter of L. W. Gulager to his cousin, William Gulager, April 24, 1901.

<sup>40</sup>Letter from the Rev. Henry Mitchell, Wayne, Pennsylvania, February 20, 1949. His wife was Hilda Gullager Cleveland, daughter of Delancey and Frances (Gullager) Cleveland.

<sup>41</sup>W. Sawitzky, *Catalogue, Descriptive and Critical, of the Paintings and Miniatures in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 1942, p. 152.

<sup>42</sup>The Childs Gallery, Boston, *Portraits from Smibert to Sully*, catalogue of an exhibition, March, 1949, No. 7.

<sup>43</sup>Frick Art Reference Library, 121-14b and 122-12a.

(Doane) Greenough, owned by David S. Greenough, Jr.<sup>44</sup> and attributed to Ralph Earl. They thought it more likely that the artist was Gullager. Additional pictures, known to the writer only in reproduction, have been ascribed to Gullager, and the number of attributions will doubtless grow. Care must be taken to insure that these are based on a sound knowledge of the artist's known works and not on a chance resemblance to some portrait that is itself an attributed work.

There are other phases of Gullager's artistic production about which unfortunately, we know much less than about his portraiture. Reference has already been made to his landscape sketching, his book illustrations, his scene painting and his design for a seal. Special notice should be taken of his representations of the American eagle for which, according to family tradition, he was noted:

"His representation of the American Eagle was so spirited and beautiful that he was characterized among painters as the "Father of the Eagle"—Among his paintings of our National bird is that which is still seen of an eagle supporting a heart with the National stripes upon it with the talons of one foot; and with the other grasping a bundle of loose darts and an olive branch. The whole is surrounded with a dark cloud, the upper part of which is irradiated by a halo of glory, and below riven by lightning."<sup>45</sup>

Family tradition also credits him with designing the seal of Pennsylvania.<sup>46</sup> In his *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* Mantle Fielding stated that the painter "Gallagher" who was apparently actually Gullager, painted in 1798 a standard for the First Philadelphia Volunteer Cavalry, commanded by Captain McKean. The whole field of Gullager's activity as a designer and decorative artist remains to be studied and little can be said about it until actual examples are brought to light. These are needed to round out the story of an artist who may be considered a logical product of the period in which he worked. Foreign born, he achieved a quick success painting the citizens of the new republic but did not consider it beneath him to turn his hand, when necessary, to a humbler exercise of his craft. He emerges from the past, a dashing, colorful figure, whose laziness and improvidence may be forgiven him as one studies those among his paintings which entitle him to a creditable place in the history of American art.

<sup>44</sup>Information supplied by Mrs. William Sawitzky who has generously aided the writer by permitting her to consult Mr. Sawitzky's file on Gullager.

<sup>45</sup>A. A. Doane, *The Doane Family and Their Descendants*, 1902, pp. 137-140 (repr.) Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits, 1620-1825*. Found in Massachusetts, 1939, II, p. 181. (The sitter's maiden name was Doane not Hough.)

<sup>46</sup>H. W. G. Letter of Charles Gulager to his brother Henry, March 5, 1832.

<sup>47</sup>Letter of the Rev. Henry Mitchell, February 20, 1949; Carnegie Institute, *Survey of American Painting*, 1940, No. 27.



Fig. 1. ELIZABETH (SALISBURY) BARRETT (Mrs. Samuel Barrett)

## I. ELIZABETH (SALISBURY) BARRETT

**SUBJECT:** Born April 1, 1744, daughter of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury (No. 18); married May 9, 1771 Samuel Barrett who became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Secretary in the Convention that framed the Constitution of Massachusetts; she had nine children who lived to grow up; died November 6, 1798.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Head and shoulders, facing slightly to spectator's left. Dark hair under an enormous cap of sheer white material, ornamented with frills and ribbons; gray eyes; black dress and a black ribbon tied at her throat; white kerchief; dark brown background, within a light brown painted oval.

**OWNERSHIP:** The present owner Miss Helen Temple Cooke, purchased this portrait from the great-granddaughter of her godmother, Mrs. Robert Temple of Rutland, Vermont. Mrs. Temple, who had owned the portrait many years, was the daughter of Dr. Isaac Green and Ann Barrett, second daughter of Elizabeth (Salisbury) Barrett.<sup>2</sup>

**COMMENTS:** This picture was probably painted while Mrs. Barrett was visiting her mother and brother Stephen in Worcester during May and June, 1789. Ledger entries prove that Gullager was in Worcester then (see page 109) undoubtedly for the purpose of painting portraits 18 and 19. Years later Mrs. Barrett's nephew, Stephen Salisbury II, compiling a list of family portraits,<sup>3</sup> mentioned his grandmother's and father's portraits (see comments on Nos. 18 and 19) with the date July 10, 1789, which was probably that of payment, and added, "Christian Gullagher at the same time took portraits in bust ea £ 4.4s of Mrs Elizabeth Salisbury wife of Samuel from a portrait taken after death and of Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett wife of Samuel both of these went to near relatives." Evidently, however, Mrs. Barrett's portrait remained in Worcester at least a year for on September 9, 1790 her husband wrote her brother Stephen, "I have now to beg one Favor of you & that is that you would let me have Betsey's Picture, which Mr Gulkaker drew, as I never expect to see it again, unless it [is] brought here, being a Prisoner for Life in Boston; and wishing to have it always with me."<sup>4</sup>

**REFERENCES:** <sup>1</sup>E. E. Salisbury, *Family-Memorials*, 1885, pp. 30-32. <sup>2</sup>J. H. Barrett, *Thomas Barrett of Braintree, William Barrett of Cambridge and Their Early Descendants*, (reprinted from the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1888) p. 8. <sup>3</sup>S. Salisbury II, "Genealogy of the Salisbury Family" (manuscript preserved at the American Antiquarian Society). <sup>4</sup>Salisbury Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, quoted by H. M. Forbes, "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930) p. 10.

**GENERAL:** Worcester Art Museum, *Exhibition of American Eighteenth Century Art Owned in and near Worcester*, 1929, no. 309. Department of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, *Survey of American Painting*, 1940, no. 27, plate 19.



Fig. 2. SAMUEL BARTON

*Cut courtesy Harry Shaw Newman Gallery*

## 2. SAMUEL BARTON

**SUBJECT:** Born April 22, 1767, son of Samuel and Margaret (Gardner) Barton of Salem; merchant in Boston associated with Nathaniel West; died in Salem, unmarried, November 16, 1795.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 23 3/4" x 18 1/2". Half-length, facing toward spectator's left; powdered hair loosely tied in back; gray eyes; blue coat with silver buttons; pink, white and yellow waistcoat; white cravat; background, gray at right, light brown at left, within a brown, nervously painted and not too distinctly indicated oval, with yellow strokes defining edge at bottom.

**OWNERSHIP:** The Harry Shaw Newman Gallery, New York, present owner of this portrait, acquired it in July 1947 from a dealer. At the time it bore on the back an old label: "The Property of J. Webb Barton Sept. 1892" and a lengthy biographical notice from "A Record of the Descendants of John Barton," by Geo D Phippen Esq of Salem." Mr. Phippen was the husband of Samuel Barton's niece, Margaret, daughter of John and Mary (Webb) Barton. The "Record" referred to is a manuscript written in 1845 and preserved at the Essex Institute, Salem. In it is a reference to the portrait omitted from the label copy: "There is a portrait of him in the family, taken while sick, also a Miniature, and by these we see he was a man of delicate constitution, but elegant personal appearance; his activity & vivacity of character is well exhibited in the sprightliness of countenance of these paintings." Among other genealogical notes<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Phippen is the statement: "Mother Barton has a portrait of him taken while sick and from this we see he must have been a handsome but rather slender man." J. Webb Barton, son of Gardner Barton, was the grandson of Mary (Webb) Barton, the "Mother Barton" referred to above, who died in 1847 after having been a widow many years. J. Webb Barton died in 1919 and, according to a letter from his niece, Mrs. Harold A. Sturges, dated February 17, 1949, the portrait then became her property until she sold it in March, 1947.

**COMMENTS:** Mrs. Sturges knows of no family tradition as to the painter of this portrait. A search of the many family and business letters and receipted bills of the Barton family, which are preserved at the Essex Institute, revealed nothing. The very detailed inventory<sup>2</sup> of the estate of Samuel Barton lists "3 fram'd Pictures — 5." This document is remarkable for the large wardrobe which it describes and which indeed seems appropriate for the fashionably dressed gentleman here portrayed. Among the items are "20 pr Silk stockings . . . 18 white Linnen Shirts . . . 17 waste coats . . . 25 muslin crevats." The inventory<sup>3</sup> of the estate of Mary (Webb) Barton lists "Books, sofa and pictures \$66.27." Present day criticism has ascribed this portrait to Christian Gullager.

**REFERENCES:** <sup>1</sup>G. D. Phippen, "Manuscripts of Barton and Other Families. Genealogical Memo. II" (preserved at the Essex Institute), p. 451. <sup>2</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records, Inventory (1796) No. 20504, vol. 94, p. 242. <sup>3</sup>Essex County Probate Records, Inventory, (1847) No. 32290, vol. 145, p. 247.

**GENERAL:** Harry Shaw Newman Gallery, *Panorama*, III (1947) p. 36 (repr.). Art Institute of Chicago, *From Colony to Nation*, 1949, pp. 45, 50 (repr.).



Fig. 4. SARAH (GREENLEAF) BOARDMAN AND CHILD  
(Mrs. Offin Boardman)



Fig. 3. CAPTAIN OFFIN BOARDMAN

### 3. OFFIN BOARDMAN

**SUBJECT:** Born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, February 18, 1748, son of Offin and Hannah (Carr) Boardman; followed the sea until 1793 and was once captured and imprisoned in England; married Sarah Greenleaf (No. 4) about 1770; accumulated a considerable fortune and spent the last part of his life in Newburyport where he died August 1, 1811.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 38½" x 34½". Three-quarter length, posed against a grayish brown background, his heavy-featured face and rather portly body turned slightly toward spectator's right; brown eyes directed full front, gray hair tied at shoulders with black ribbon; brown coat with gray buttons, green waistcoat, black trousers, white stock and ruffles at neck and wrists; spyglass of brass and bound in red held in both awkwardly drawn hands, the position of the right hand obviously having been altered by the original artist. Old labels on the back of the frame read: "Cap<sup>t</sup> Offin Boardman 4<sup>th</sup> Ag<sup>d</sup> 39 when taken" and "— n. AGED. 39. 1787," while on a piece of the original stretcher are the words, "Taken wen—".

**OWNERSHIP:** Purchased by the Worcester Art Museum in 1938, through Clyde H. Tomlinson, from George Carr Odiorne, Hoosick Falls, New York, who was the son of James Locke Odiorne of West Newbury, Massachusetts, and the grandson of another James Locke Odiorne who was in turn the son of Offin Boardman's daughter Susan Greenleaf and her husband John Odiorne. In Offin Boardman's will<sup>2</sup> is the following: "I give to my *dahter* Sukey Boardmenn . . . my bank *sheors*, and *portray* and gold *woch*." The will was dated 1808 and Susan was not married until 1810. Mrs. Winthrop H. Thurlow of West Newbury, niece of George Carr Odiorne, remembers this portrait and its companion (No. 4) hanging in her grandmother's house when she visited there as a little girl.

**COMMENTS:** There is no family tradition as to the painter of the Boardman portraits. They were attributed to Gullager at the time they entered the collection of the Worcester Art Museum after careful comparison with the Salisbury portraits (Nos. 17, 18 and 19) and that of Colonel John May (No. 15). William Sawitzky whole-heartedly agreed with this attribution.

**REFERENCES:** <sup>1</sup>*Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1911, I, p. 41, II, p. 557. Genealogical and biographical notes attached to a copy, owned by Mrs. W. H. Thurlow, of Offin Boardman's manuscript diary. <sup>2</sup>*Essex County Probate Records*, Will (1811) No. 2717, vol. 381, p. 183.

**GENERAL:** J. C. Odiorne, *Genealogy of the Odiorne Family*, 1875, pp. 71, 110, 151; J. J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass., 1764-1905*, 1906, p. 615 (repr.); W. H. Bayley and O. O. Jones, *History of the Marine Society of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1906, pp. 355-356 (repr.).

### 4. SARAH (GREENLEAF) BOARDMAN AND CHILD

**SUBJECT:** Born April 5, 1747, daughter of Timothy and Susanna (Greenleaf) Greenleaf of Newburyport, Massachusetts<sup>1</sup>; married Offin Boardman (No. 3) about 1770; had several children including Benjamin Greenleaf, born September 25, 1783, and Susan Greenleaf, born October 22, 1788; nursed a poor family stricken with yellow fever, contracted the disease and died, August 29, 1796.<sup>2</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 38½" x 34½". Three-quarter length against a greenish gray background, seated in a ladder-back chair, Mrs. Boardman is depicted turned slightly toward one of her children who stands at her left knee holding a little, beady-eyed black dog. The mother wears a brown dress with a lace-edged ruffle at the elbow-length right sleeve, and a sheer white kerchief; round her neck is a string of yellow beads and a narrow black ribbon, while over her brownish gray hair is a white, elaborately beribboned and frilled "queen's night-cap." Her brown eyes are directed straight forward. The child has brown hair and eyes and wears a gray dress. An old label on the back of the frame reads: "Taken AGED. 40 1787" (the cipher of the 40 being torn).

**OWNERSHIP:** The same as No. 3.

**COMMENTS:** Since the picture was painted in 1787 the child represented is probably Benjamin Greenleaf Boardman, then about four years old. An undated note attached to a copy of Offin Boardman's diary owned by Mrs. Winthrop H. Thurlow states that "In 1787, he had his portrait painted, also one of his wife Sarah Greenleaf and son Benjamin. He was 39 years old and his wife 40 years at that time. These portraits are now at the Odiorne home in West Newbury." For the attribution to Gullager see the comments on No. 3.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, 1896, pp. 432, 440.  
<sup>2</sup>*Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1911, I, pp. 40, 41, II, p. 558.



Fig. 5. JAMES BOWDOIN

### 5. JAMES BOWDOIN

**SUBJECT:** Born in Boston, August 7, 1726, son of James and Hannah (Pordage) Bowdoin; Harvard College, 1745; married Elizabeth Erving, September 15, 1748; led an active public life culminating in the governorship of Massachusetts in 1785 and 1786; served as first president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1780 until his death, November 6, 1790.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Panel, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Full length portrait of an elderly man, white-wigged, with his head in profile facing toward the spectator's right; gray coat

and waistcoat, dull brown breeches; yellowish gray-green architectural background giving the impression of an imposing interior; at left an open window, partly covered by a billowing red curtain; at lower left books, papers and a globe, and at right a red-upholstered arm chair, a table with a document and inkwell on it, and, against the wall, a piece of sculpture in a niche.

**OWNERSHIP:** This portrait<sup>2</sup> was given to Bowdoin College by Clara Bowdoin Winthrop in 1924. In 1873 it was owned by her grandfather, Robert C. Winthrop, son of Thomas Lindall Winthrop and Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, eldest daughter of Elizabeth (Bowdoin) Temple who was the daughter of Governor Bowdoin.

**COMMENTS:** Another, very similar portrait,<sup>3</sup> also on panel and with the same dimensions, was bequeathed to Bowdoin College in 1826 by Sarah Bowdoin Dearborn and actually received by the college from the family in 1894. Mrs. Dearborn was the daughter of Governor Bowdoin's brother William, and her first husband was the Governor's son, James Bowdoin III, who died in 1811. One of these two pictures is presumably a replica or copy of the other, or they may both be painted after a lost original. Philip C. Beam, Director of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts, writes March 30, 1949: "I have never been able to be certain which of the two versions came first, but I have always favored the 1924 version on stylistic grounds. Certain highlights seem to have been put in with a little more dash and freedom, as they are when a man is working directly. Conversely, the highlights in the 1894 version look like those a man would insert when working to imitate highlights in another picture." During the second half of the nineteenth century these pictures were attributed to Copley, a theory which has long since been abandoned.<sup>4</sup> It is now suggested that they may be by Christian Gullager.

On March 5, 1832 Gullager's son, Charles in a letter<sup>5</sup> to another son, Henry, giving information about their father's career, wrote: "As one of his achievements in portraiture he painted the likeness of Governor Bowdoin, of Massachusetts, one year after his death — there having been no likeness of him taken during his life, — which was so correct that it was immediately purchased by his family and several copies were taken for his friends." As with other statements in family letters tradition has distorted the facts. For example, several portraits were painted of Bowdoin during his lifetime, notably that by Robert Feke<sup>6</sup> owned by Bowdoin College which shows him as he looked in 1748. It is possible, however, that his children, Elizabeth and James, who may have been the original owners of these two small panels, would have particularly appreciated having likenesses of their father as they remembered him. There is doubtless a core of truth in the 1832 letter and the writer of these comments feels that, insofar as one can draw conclusions from a comparison by photograph of small paintings on panel with larger works on canvas, there is sufficient justification for making a tentative attribution of these portraits of Governor Bowdoin to Gullager with the further suggestion that the panel formerly owned by Miss Winthrop may be the artist's original version, and the other a replica by him. A notation in the records of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts indicates that William Sawitzky once suggested Gullager as the painter of these pictures.<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to compare the panels with the silhouette of Governor Bowdoin's head, seen in profile to the right, engraved by Samuel Hill for the January, 1791, issue of the *Massachusetts Magazine*. It is there described as "a PROFILE, which is

a striking LIKENESS, copied from one in the possession of the Family." The pose of the head and the features are so similar to the small panels that there must be a close relationship between them. It may be recalled in this connection that Gullager had already supplied Hill with at least one subject for an engraving in the *Massachusetts Magazine* (See No. 28).

One of the panels was reproduced as a wood engraving by Alonzo Hartwell in the *American Magazine* for May 1835<sup>8</sup> with no mention of artist or owner.

REFERENCES: In text: <sup>1</sup>T. Prime, *Some Account of the Bowdoin Family*, 1900, pp. 4-7. <sup>2</sup>A. T. Perkins, *A Sketch of the Life and a List of Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley*, 1873, p. 125; Prime, *op. cit.*, 1st ed., 1887, p. 16; F. W. Bayley, *The Life and Works of John Singleton Copley*, 1915, p. 63; Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1930, p. 60 (No. 182b). <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 60 (No. 182a); W. Wilson, *A History of the American People*, 1902, III, p. 81 (repr.). <sup>4</sup>B. N. Parker and A. B. Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley*, 1938, p. 260. <sup>5</sup>A typewritten copy of this letter, preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, completely misspells the name Bowdoin but it is given correctly in a later statement among the papers presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mrs. Arthur Codman. <sup>6</sup>J. T. Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, 1947, p. 143 (repr.). <sup>7</sup>Letter of L. Adams, August 18, 1942. <sup>8</sup>*American Magazine*, I (1835) p. 373; J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 1889, VIII, pp. 429, 430 (repr.)



Fig. 6. CAPTAIN DAVID COATS

## 6. DAVID COATS

**SUBJECT:** Born October 5, 1736 at Falmouth (now Portland, Maine), son of John and Ann Coats; married Mehitable Thurston of Newbury, Massachusetts (No. 7) June 24, 1765; sea-captain; selectman of Newburyport; member of the Legislature, 1783-1785; deputy master of Newburyport Marine Society from 1782 until he died in June 1791.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Three-quarter length, facing slightly to spectator's left, with eyes directed at spectator; green coat, dark vest, sheer white ruffles at wrists, white neckcloth and jabot; seated in a wooden chair holding a spy-glass in both hands; a red curtain in the background to the right and an open window to the left through which ocean and sky may be seen, as though the captain were in the cabin of one of his sailing vessels.

**OWNERSHIP:** Mehitable (Thurston) Coats' brother John Thurston had a daughter Eunice who married in 1799 Richard Jaques of Newbury. William Jaques, a son of Richard and Eunice, had a son William and a grandson Joseph Brown Jaques who was born in 1875. Another son of Richard and Eunice, Richard Jaques, had a daughter Caroline Elizabeth, born in 1852.<sup>2</sup> In letters of April 7 and May 2, 1949 Joseph Brown Jaques, who was born and still lives in the Jaques family house, 28 Parker Street, Newbury, states that he remembers seeing the portraits of Captain and Mrs. Coats hanging there when he "was a small boy and wondering who the fellow was with a spy glass in his hand." They hung in his house for years until he gave them to his cousin Caroline Elizabeth Jaques, 20 Parker Street, "so the three of them (Nos. 6, 7 and 8) could be together." He has no further information about their history. His parents never said much about them. By 1930 they were hanging in the galleries of Benjamin Fleyderman in Boston,<sup>3</sup> who recalls that he purchased all three of them from a member of the Jaques family. In 1938 they were purchased by George N. Northrop of West Roxbury<sup>4</sup> who later sold them. In January 1949 they were owned by M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., New York. The portraits of Captain and Mrs. Coats have since been acquired by the City Art Museum of St. Louis.

**COMMENTS:** The attribution to Gullager is based on strong resemblance to pictures believed to be his work, particularly those of Captain and Mrs. Boardman (Nos. 3 and 4). The fleshy faces and heavy hands of the two sea captains, and the sheer ruffles at their wrists, are a few of the points they have in common.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>*Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts*, 1911, I, 107, II, 479; W. H. Bayley and O. O. Jones, *History of the Marine Society of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1906, p. 319. <sup>2</sup>B. Thurston, *Thurston Genealogies*, 1892, pp. 16, 17, 28, 64. <sup>3</sup>*International Studio* (August, 1930) p. 84 (repr. with caption "Smibert's 'Daniel Coats'"). <sup>4</sup>Letter of February 6, 1949.

**GENERAL:** Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits, 1620-1825, Found in Massachusetts*, 1939, p. 84.



Fig. 7. MEHITABLE (THURSTON) COATS (Mrs. David Coats)

## 7. MEHITABLE (THURSTON) COATS

**SUBJECT:** Born in November, 1735;<sup>1</sup> daughter of John and Dorothy (Woodman) Thurston of Newbury, Massachusetts; married Captain David Coats (No. 6) June 24, 1765;<sup>2</sup> died in October, 1792.<sup>3</sup> Her daughter Elizabeth (No. 8) is said to have been her only child.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 32 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Three-quarter length facing slightly to spectator's right, her brown eyes directed at the spectator; white, ruffled and be-ribboned cap; gray-brown dress with lace ruffles at elbows and a white kerchief edged with lace; a ribbon tied at her throat; seated in a straight-backed chair, her left elbow resting on a table beside two sheets of paper and an inkwell which contains a quill pen; her right hand holds a sheet inscribed: "Cap<sup>t</sup> David Coats." In the background a green fringed curtain reveals at the spectator's left the base of a gray column.

**OWNERSHIP:** See No. 6.

**COMMENTS:** Mrs. Coats' cap and lace are almost identical in treatment with those of Mrs. Boardman (No. 4) and the two portraits have other points of resemblance, such as the use of the chairs and the painting of the hair and features.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>*Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts*, 1911, I, p. 510 (it is questionable whether this is the correct date of birth). <sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, II, p. 479. <sup>3</sup>*Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1911, II, p. 587 (age at time of death given as 57 years).

**GENERAL:** Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits, 1620-1825. Found in Massachusetts*, 1939, p. 84 (portrait described is No. 8).



Fig. 8. ELIZABETH COATS

## 8. ELIZABETH COATS

SUBJECT: Born September 17, 1766 in Newburyport, Massachusetts, daughter of David and Mehitable (Thurston) Coats (Nos. 6 and 7); married John Greenleaf, November 2, 1791; died in August, 1793. Her son, David Coats Greenleaf was born October 18, 1792 and died September 18, 1793.<sup>1</sup>

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Three-quarter length, facing the spectator; right hand, resting on green-painted wooden chair back, holds book bound in brown open at page headed SPRING.; brown hair, ornamented with a faintly painted white feather; blue eyes; blue dress with delicately painted white lace at neck and sleeves; blue cord around neck; gold ring set with four pearls on left hand; in background at spectator's left are faint indications of a window and a green curtain.

OWNERSHIP: See No. 6.

COMMENTS: This picture resembles very strongly Nos. 3 and 4. It seems likely all three were painted at nearly the same time.

REFERENCES: *Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts*, 1911, I, pp. 80, 166, II, pp. 96, 648, 649; J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, 1896, p. 427.

GENERAL: *International Studio* (August, 1930) p. 78 (reproduced, but mistakenly captioned "'Mehitable Coats,' painted about 1750 by John Smibert"). See also References, General, for No. 7.



Fig. 9. DOROTHY (LYNDE) DIX (Mrs. Elijah Dix)

## 9. DOROTHY (LYNDE) DIX

**SUBJECT:** Born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, May 23, 1746, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Lemmon) Lynde; married, October 1, 1771, Dr. Elijah Dix who, after apprenticing under Dr. John Green, Worcester, and studying pharmacy with William Greenleaf, Boston, returned to practice in Worcester until he removed to Boston in 1795. He died in 1809. Mrs. Dix died April 29, 1837. Among her grandchildren was Dorothea Lynde Dix, pioneer in prison and asylum reform.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas with masonite panel relining and latticed reinforcement,  $36\frac{5}{8}$ " x  $28\frac{1}{4}$ ". Half-length, facing slightly toward spectator's right, seated on a sofa covered with rose-colored material, holding in her two hands a light brown, leather-bound book, labeled in red; black hair falling in curls over her shoulders under a "Queen's Night Cap" of sheer material, befrilled and beribboned; blue eyes; blue dress with white ruffles at the elbows and a sheer white, ruffled kerchief; black ribbon tied at throat; pale gray-green background with green curtain extending from upper left to middle right of the canvas. Label on frame: "Fred Keer's Sons Framers and Fine Art Dealers, 874 Broad St. Newark, N. J." [so listed in Newark directory, 1883-1899]. Label in handwriting of Miss Elizabeth Harris on back of picture giving biographical details and stating: "Portrait painted in Worcester by Christian Gûliger, the Danish artist."

**OWNERSHIP:** Mrs. Frank M. Clark, the present owner, is a direct descendant of the sitter whose daughter Mary (Mrs. Thaddeus Mason Harris) was Mrs. Clark's great-grandmother. She remembers the portrait hanging at 8 Holyoke Place, Cambridge, after it had been purchased (before 1903) by her aunt, Miss Emma Forbes Harris, from a cousin. After Miss Harris died in 1930 it became the property of another aunt, Miss Elizabeth Harris, from whom it came to Mrs. Clark. Miss Elizabeth L. Bond a relative, who lived with the Misses Harris and who died in 1943, was incorrectly listed in 1938<sup>2</sup> as the owner of the portrait.

**COMMENTS:** This picture has been attributed to John Johnston<sup>3</sup> but it has such strong Gullager characteristics in eyes, mouth, crisply painted cap, to mention but a few, that the traditional attribution to Gullager seems acceptable. It is so closely related to the portraits of Mrs. Samuel Salisbury (No. 17) and Mrs. Daniel Waldo (No. 21) which, documentary evidence appears to indicate, were painted in 1789, that approximately the same date is suggested for this picture.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>A. M. Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 1903, II, p. 554.  
<sup>2</sup>Historical Records Survey, *American Portraits, 1620-1825, Found in Massachusetts*, 1939, I, p. 120. <sup>3</sup>F. W. Coburn, "The Johnstons of Boston, Part Two" *Art in America*, XXI (1933), p. 137.

**GENERAL:** Earle, *op. cit.*, II, pp. xiii, xiv, repr. opp. p. 550. H. E. Marshall, *Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan*, 1937, pp. 5, 14, 251, repr. opp. p. 24.



Fig. 10. THE REVEREND ELI FORBES

## 10. ELI FORBES

**SUBJECT:** Born in October, 1726, son of Jonathan and Hannah (Holloway) Forbes of Westborough, Massachusetts; Harvard College, 1751; minister of Second Parish, Brookfield, 1752-1775; married Mary Parkman in August, 1752; minister of First Parish, Gloucester, from 1776 until his death, December 15, 1804. His first wife died in 1776 and he married successively Mrs. Lucy (Smith) Sanders in 1776 (died 1780), Mrs. Sarah Parsons in 1781 (died 1792), and Mrs. Lucy (Parkman) Baldwin in 1793 (died 1804). He had two children.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 45 3/4" x 40 1/8". Half length, standing in a pulpit of brown paneled wood, his left hand resting on one edge, his right raised with forefinger pointing heavenward. The sheets of his sermon lie in an open Bible, bound in red, which rests on a green cushion with two tassels. Brown background, with dark green curtain at spectator's right beneath which a window can be faintly seen. The subject, facing slightly toward spectator's right, wears a black robe with ruffled neckcloth, and sheer white bands; white shirt sleeves visible at wrists, with gold cuff-link at sitter's right wrist. Full white wig, heavy features, brown eyes. Old label on back of frame, inscribed in nineteenth century hand: "Rev. Eli Forbes This picture was painted by an Italian artist—Guilegaire, four years previous to Dr. Forbes' death which occurred in 1804. He was born in 1726 at Westboro—son of Jonathan Forbes." Written on the frame in pencil appears: "Painted by Guliger." Two leather thongs for hanging are attached to the frame.

**OWNERSHIP:** The present owner, Mrs. Arthur M. Greenwood, acquired this portrait in 1945 from William Dennen of Pepperell, said to be a family connection of the sitter. In his will, Eli Forbes left "my picture" to his granddaughter Lucy, daughter of Peter and Mary (Forbes) Coffin. J. H. Temple, writing in 1887, spoke of it as in the possession of the sitter's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Henry Haskell of West Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> She was Sarah Coffin (Phelps) Haskell, daughter of Henry and Mary Forbes (Coffin) Phelps and a niece of the Lucy Coffin mentioned in Eli Forbes' will.<sup>3</sup>

**COMMENTS:** This picture has so much in common with Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8—particularly with that of Captain Boardman (note the heavy, awkward hands)—there can be no hesitation in accepting, with some revision, the family tradition expressed in the label on the back of the frame. It is easy to understand "Guilegaire" as one more misspelling of Gullager,—who was not "an Italian artist," to be sure, but a foreigner. A date about 1800 seems late for the painting of this picture and the period 1786-1787 more likely. Gullager is known to have been in Newburyport at that time and the sitter was about sixty years of age.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>H. M. Forbes, *New England Diaries, 1602-1800*, 1923, p. 107; J. H. Temple, *History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts*, 1887, pp. 257-258, 590. <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 589. <sup>3</sup>O. S. Phelps and A. T. Servin, *The Phelps Family of America*, 1899, pp. 1632-1633, 1661.

**GENERAL:** F. C. Pierce, *Forbes and Forbush Genealogy*, 1892, pp. 33-36. *New England Magazine*, VI (1892) new series, p. 698 (repr.).

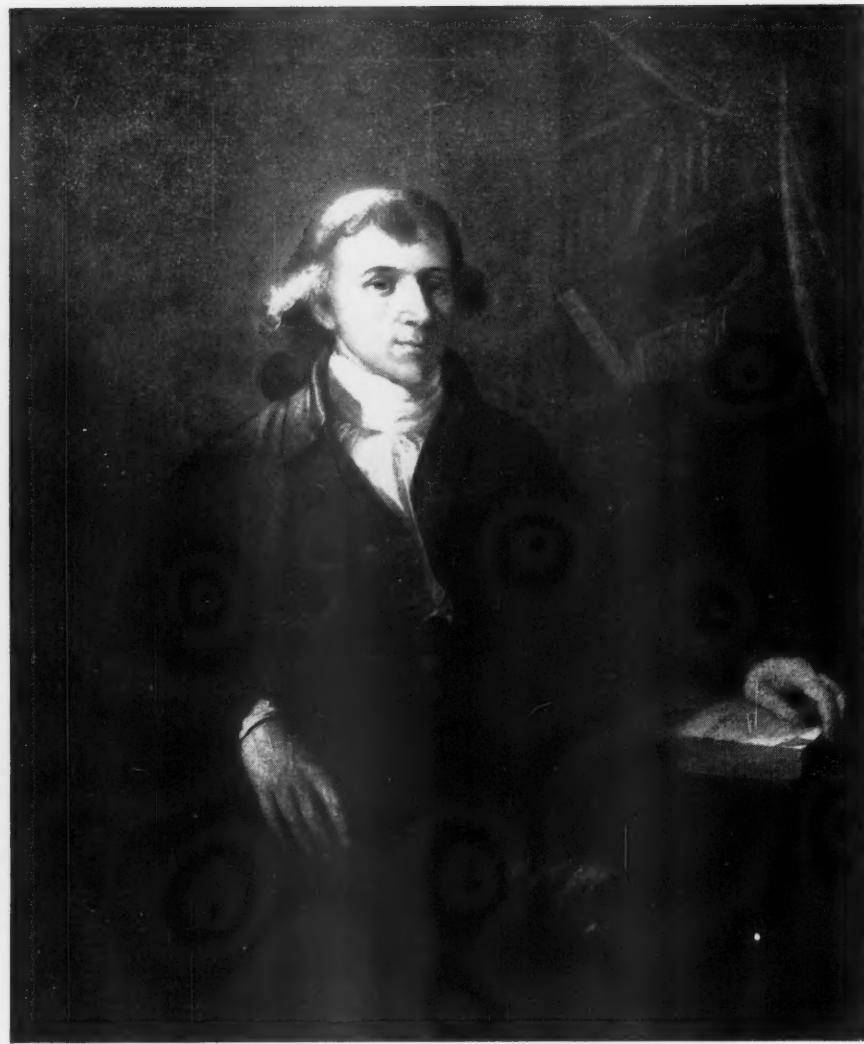


Fig. 11. THE REVEREND JAMES FREEMAN

## 11. JAMES FREEMAN

**SUBJECT:** Born April 22, 1759, son of Constant and Lois (Cobb) Freeman of Charlestown; Harvard College, 1777; close friend of George Richards Minot (No. 16) in whose household he lived until he married Martha (Curtis), widow of Samuel Clarke, June 8, 1788; appointed reader at King's Chapel, Boston in 1782 and became the first Unitarian preacher in Boston; ordained by ratification of the choice of the people, November 18, 1787; retired from active service in 1826; died November 14, 1835. He had no children but adopted his wife's only son.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 49 1/2" x 41 9/16". Three-quarter length facing slightly to spectator's right; seated with right arm resting on green painted arm of chair; left hand rests on heavy book inscribed ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, which in turn rests on a plain brown table at spectator's right; lightly powdered hair, gray blue eyes, black satin suit and waistcoat, silver buckle at right knee; white neckcloth; four shelves of leather-bound books at right, revealed behind a red curtain which has been looped to one side. A fairly recent label on the back of the canvas gives biographical details and states portrait was "Painted by a German artist Kuliger—".

**OWNERSHIP:** This portrait came to the present owner, James J. Minot, by inheritance. It previously hung, with that of George Richards Minot, in the family house at 245 Marlborough Street, Boston. In 1887 it was referred to as belonging to the family of the "late Mr. George Richards Minot," grandfather of the present owner and grandson of Mr. Freeman's close friend who may possibly have had the picture painted. In the inventory<sup>2</sup> of the estate of George Richards Minot, who died in 1802, are listed "Parlour . . . 1 painted Canvass . . . 15." and "Entry . . . 1 painted Canvass . . . 8." These might conceivably be the portraits of himself and of Mr. Freeman (Nos. 16 and 11).

**COMMENTS:** This is the largest picture attributable to Gullager. In its easy pose it resembles strongly the portrait of Stephen Salisbury (No. 19). The hands are similar in treatment to those in the portrait of George Richards Minot. On December 15, 1886 it was exhibited during the service commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of King's Chapel and was described as "painted by Guliger."

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>*The Commemoration by King's Chapel, Boston, of the Completion of Two Hundred Years since its Foundation, on Wednesday, December 15, 1886, 1887*, p. 71, repr. opp. p. 182. <sup>2</sup>*Suffolk County Probate Records, Inventory (1802)* No. 21595, vol. 100, p. 56. <sup>3</sup>*The Commemoration by King's Chapel . . . op. cit.*, p. 70.

**GENERAL:** F. Freeman, *Freeman Genealogy*, 1875, pp. 389, 405-407; H. H. Sprague, *A Brief History of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society*, 1893, p. 27, repr. opp. p. 24. H. W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1896, II, pp. xxiv, 378-397, 406, 562, repr. opp. p. 378. J. J. Minot, *Ancestors and Descendants of George Richards Minot, 1758-1802*, 1936, p. 56.

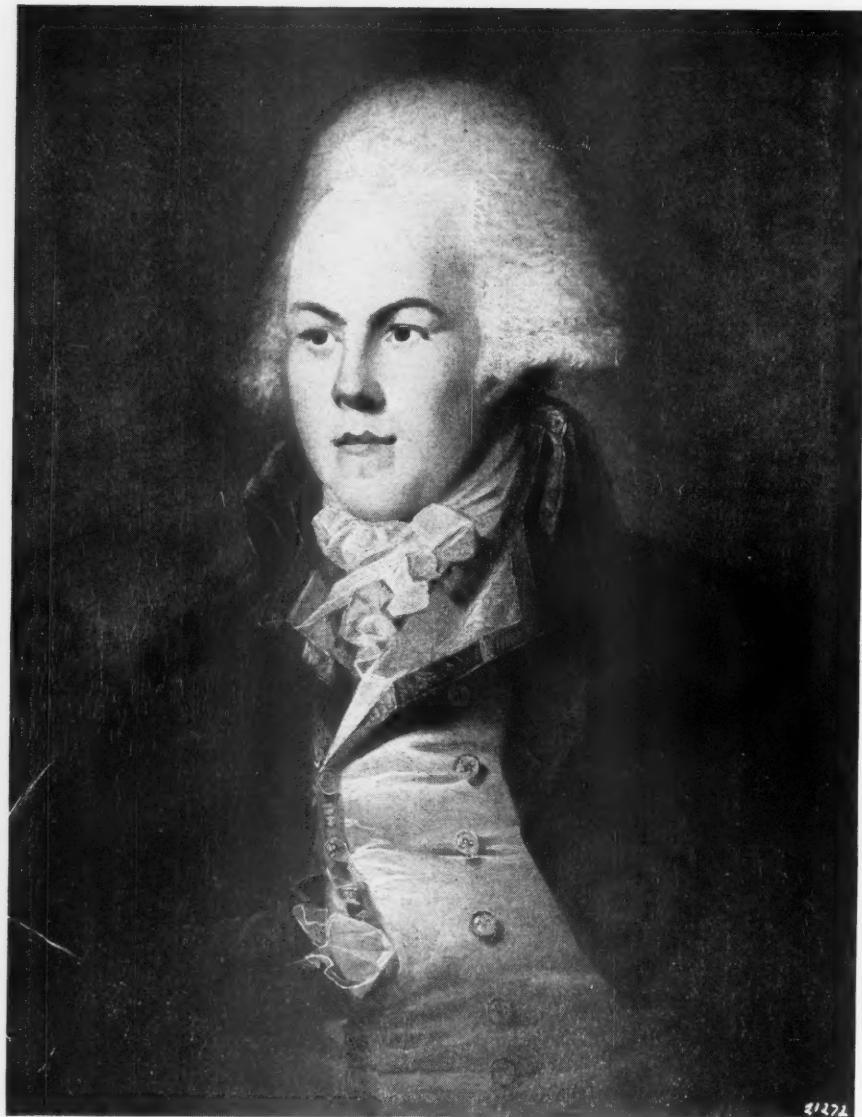


Fig. 12. BENJAMIN GOLDSWAIT  
*Photograph courtesy Frick Art Reference Library*

## 12. BENJAMIN GOLDSWAIT

**SUBJECT:** Born May 10, 1770, son of Benjamin and Sarah White (Dawes) Goldthwait of Boston; married Hannah Dawes, October 8, 1793; member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company and of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society; died December 11, 1796 leaving no children. His widow married in 1800 Daniel Newcomb of Keene, New Hampshire.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 30 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Head and shoulders, slightly to spectator's left; hair powdered white, brown eyes; dark coat, oyster white waistcoat edged with silver and gold braid, white jabot; right elbow resting on brown desk with green top at left, right hand thrust in waistcoat; quill pen on desk at left; gray brown background. Inscription on back of frame: "This portrait of Mr Benjamin Goldthwait painted by Guliger of Copenhagen in Boston 1793 when Mr G. was 22 is to go to the "Ingersoll Relics Room" in the Keene Library."

**OWNERSHIP:** Goldthwaite H. Dorr, a descendant of Benjamin Goldthwait's sister Esther and her husband John Dorr, is the present owner of this portrait which he inherited from his cousin, Lemuel Hayward of Keene, New Hampshire, who died in 1914 and in whose will appeared the following: "Tenth. The portrait of our cousin Benjamin Goldthwaite in the north parlor, I give and bequeath to Goldthwaite H. Dorr on account of his name."<sup>2</sup> Not only was Mr. Hayward a descendant of John and Esther (Goldthwait) Dorr but his wife, Martha Maria Adams, was the granddaughter of Sarah Goldthwait, another sister of Benjamin, and her husband Dr. Daniel Adams, also of Keene. A third sister, Martha Goldthwait, married Major George Ingersoll. Their son George G. Ingersoll and his wife came to live in Keene in 1849. Apparently the portrait was in this branch of the family in the 1870's and 1880's. A reproduction of the head only in an oval appeared in one publication<sup>3</sup> in 1778 with the information that the portrait was "in the possession of Mrs. Ingersoll, of Keene, N. H." A later writer<sup>4</sup> stated: "A beautiful portrait of Benjamin Goldthwait, by Gullager, a German artist of reputation of the time of Copley, was in possession of Miss Ingersoll of Keene, his grandniece, and was left by her, with other valuable relics, to that city." The Miss Ingersoll here referred to was probably Caroline Haskell Ingersoll, daughter of George G. Ingersoll. She died in 1893.<sup>5</sup> Her will does not mention this portrait<sup>6</sup> and a report from the Keene Library states that, while a portrait of Benjamin Goldthwait and other articles were supposed to come from Miss Ingersoll to the Library, they are not now in the Library.

**COMMENTS:** The traditional attribution of this portrait to Christian Gullager appears correct in the light of present day criticism. It may be especially compared with the traditionally attributed portrait of George Richards Minot (No. 16).

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>C. Goldthwaite, *Descendants of Thomas Goldthwaite*, 1899, pp. 134 and 194. <sup>2</sup>Letter from the Register of the Court of Probate, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, February 2, 1949. <sup>3</sup>H. W. Holland, *William Dawes and His Ride with Paul Revere*, 1878, p. ix, repr. opp. p. 56. <sup>4</sup>C. Goldthwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 194. <sup>5</sup>L. D. Avery, *A Genealogy of the Ingersoll Family in America*, 1926, pp. 30, 51.



Fig. 13. DANIEL GREENLEAF

### 13. DANIEL GREENLEAF

**SUBJECT:** Born in Boston September 29, 1762, son of William and Mary (Brown) Greenleaf; apprenticed as an apothecary in the shop of his uncle Dr. John Greenleaf; married his cousin Elizabeth Greenleaf (No. 14), May 25, 1786; retired from the drug business in 1797 and went to live in Quincy; died March 25, 1853; no children.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 16 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Head and shoulders in a painted oval, facing slightly to spectator's right; light brown hair, dark brown eyes, heavily modelled features; brown coat, gilt buttons flecked with red; white waistcoat with a high collar bearing a design in gold; white neckcloth and frilled jabot; light brownish gray background with blue-green curtain at upper right; olive-brown oval, lighter at right than at left, dashingly painted and flecked with red, green and yellow. Frame, exactly similar to that on his wife's portrait, stamped on each side, S. WADE. Inscription on stretcher in pencil: "The picture of Mrs. Daniel Greenleaf has a paper on the back stating that it was painted in 1791 by Christian Gullager or Galloper. Probably this picture of Daniel Greenleaf was painted at the same time."

**OWNERSHIP:** Elizabeth G. Pattee, the present owner, is a great-great-great-niece of the subject of this portrait. It came to her by inheritance from her father, W. G. A. Pattee whose mother, Mary E. (Appleton) Pattee, was the daughter of William Greenleaf Appleton, son of Daniel Greenleaf's sister, Sarah. William Greenleaf Appleton's second wife, who had no children, was a niece of Mrs. Daniel Greenleaf (No. 14).

**COMMENTS:** The inscription on the stretcher of the portrait, when first seen recently by the present owner, was very faint and a version of it is given in the comment on No. 14 as it was then read. The owner has since studied it further and strengthened it so that it now reads as noted above. She believes that it is the handwriting of her father. The portrait of Mrs. Greenleaf (No. 14) has recently been discovered bearing the paper referred to. Present day criticism supports the attribution to Gullager.

**REFERENCES:** GENERAL: *Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1853-1855*, 1881, II, pp. 34-37; J. E. Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family*, 1896, pp. 207, 210, 216, 217.



Fig. 14. ELIZABETH (GREENLEAF) GREENLEAF (Mrs. Daniel Greenleaf)

#### 14. ELIZABETH (GREENLEAF) GREENLEAF

**SUBJECT:** Born November 15, 1765, daughter of John and Ann (Wroe) Greenleaf of Boston; married her cousin Daniel Greenleaf (No. 13), May 25, 1786; died January 6, 1839; no children.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas,  $20\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $16\frac{9}{16}$ ". Head and shoulders in a painted oval, facing slightly to spectator's right; curly brown hair, ornamented with pearls and falling in curls over her shoulders; large blue eyes with strong dark line across top of irises; sheer white dress with ruffles at low neckline; pale gray background with blue-green curtain looped at upper right; olive-green oval, light at right, dark at left, dashingly painted and flecked with red and yellow. Frame stamped on either side S WADE. On the stretcher an old torn label, apparently early nineteenth century bearing in ink: "Christian Gullager or Galloge Painter in Boston 1791".

**OWNERSHIP:** Going out of family possession, probably through a nineteenth century auction, this portrait was found in an obscure shop on Third Avenue, New York, by James Thomas Flexner who later sold it to Harry Stone from whom it was purchased recently by the present owner, Elizabeth G. Pattee, great-great-great-niece of the subject's husband (see No. 13).

**COMMENTS:** The subject was identified when the following inscription, faintly written in pencil, was discovered on the stretcher of the portrait of Daniel Greenleaf: "The picture of Mrs. Dan'l Greenleaf bears a [paper] on the back stating that it was painted in 1791 by Christian Gullager or Galloge. Probably this one of Daniel Greenleaf was painted at the same time." (see No. 13) There is a possibility the label identifying the artist may have been written by the subject's husband. At least it was written during his lifetime. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity and the identification of the artist is supported by present day criticism.

**REFERENCES:** See references for No. 13.

#### NOTE

##### PORTRAIT OF NATHANIEL SOLEY

Closely related to the Greenleaf portraits, Nos. 13 and 14, is that of Nathaniel Soley, owned by Mrs. Herbert C. Hardy, which came to the attention of the writer too late for reproduction and extended discussion here. The subject, son of John and Hannah (Cary) Soley of Charlestown or Billerica, was baptized August 7, 1768. He is shown as a young man, light haired and brown eyed, wearing a brown coat and yellow waistcoat and posed, with head and shoulders facing slightly toward the spectator's right, against a dark gray background within a dashingly painted brown oval. The portrait is on canvas and measures  $20\frac{7}{16}$ " by  $16\frac{5}{8}$ ". The frame is stamped at the sides, S. WADE. This picture is No. 30 in the Gullager exhibition at the Worcester Art Museum.



Fig. 15. COLONEL JOHN MAY  
*Cut courtesy American Antiquarian Society*

## 15. JOHN MAY

**SUBJECT:** Born, Pomfret, Connecticut, November 24, 1748, son of Eleazer and Dorothy (Davis) May; married February 16, 1773 Abigail, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Williams) May; served in Boston Regiment of Militia during Revolution and became its Colonel in 1787; made two trips to the Ohio country, 1788 and 1789; a fire-warden of Boston, 1785-1805; Selectman, 1804-1812; died Boston, July 16, 1812; had eleven children.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 30" x 25 1/8". Half-length, body and head facing slightly to spectator's left, gloved hands crossed in front of body over hilt of sword, the blade of which rests against upper left arm; white wig, tied at back of neck with black ribbon; blue eyes with dark lines at top of irises, directed at spectator; large black hat trimmed with black rosette; dark blue coat faced with beige, gilt epaulette and buttons; white neckcloth, and white ruffle at left wrist, broad red scarf across chest and over right shoulder; background of rocky landscape and cloudy sky. Signed and dated at lower right: "C Gullager. / pinx / 1789." Lengthy biographical label on back.

**OWNERSHIP:** Owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; presented, March 4, 1874, in accordance with the wish of Col. May's daughters, Mary Davenport and Charlotte Augusta May, following their deaths. It had previously hung in their house, 1 Decatur Street, Boston.

**COMMENTS:** Because of its excellent history and clear signature this is the key picture for the study of Gullager's work. In 1876 Nathaniel Paine listed the portrait of Col. May as "Painted by Gullag,"<sup>2</sup> and the name of the artist had been so given in the letter of gift. This was because the frame then covered the last two letters of the artist's name. Judging by the opinion of the sitter's wife it may be considered a successful likeness. In 1789, shortly after it was painted, she wrote in her diary:

"April 23d. At 7 o'clock, Mr. May and Mr Breck started on their journey for the West, not in the best health or spirits, leaving us very dull.

24th. A heavy old fashioned Southerly storm, wind very heavy . . . rained hard all night . . . day dark, dull, and long. . . . In the afternoon brother came, and brought me the image of my friend. What a present! the most welcome he could have made me, unless it had been the original himself. With it [came] brother Shandy's, which, he says, may serve as a sort of foil to the other. Much praise is due to the painter. He has done his work well, and I don't wonder he says his hall is stripped of its greatest ornament. Brother has promised he shall have it again, after it has made me a visit. . . .

Wednesday 6th. Mr. West called to see me and my picture."<sup>3</sup>

The detailed inventory of Colonel May's estate mentions no pictures. That of his wife lists, in the "Entry . . . 1 Picture — 1 . . . 50"<sup>4</sup>

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXVII (1873) pp. 14-15. <sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, XXX (1876), p. 23. <sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 46. <sup>4</sup>*Suffolk County Probate Records: Administration Papers* (1812) No. 24010, vol. 202, p. 286; *Inventory*, vol. 110, p. 561; *Administration Papers* (1824) No. 27177, vol. 172, p. 137; *Inventory*, vol. 122<sup>2</sup>, p. 185.

**GENERAL:** American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings* April 29, 1874, pp. 30, 47; VII, new series (1891) 353-354; VIII, new series (1892) pp. 75-76; XXXIII, new series (1923) pp. 244-245. F. L. Weis, *Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1947, pp. 42-43, (repr. opp. p. 42). F. W. Bayley and C. E. Goodspeed, eds. *Dunlap's History . . . of the Arts of Design*, 1918, III, p. 305 (repr. opp. p. 314). Worcester Art Museum, *Exhibition of American Eighteenth Century Art Owned In and Near Worcester*, 1929, No. 308. A. Burroughs, *Limners and Likenesses*, 1936, pp. 93, 98, No. 74 (repr.). Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, *Old and New England*, 1945, No. 39, repr. p. 57.



Fig. 16. GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT

## 16. GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT

**SUBJECT:** Born December 22, 1758, son of Stephen and Sarah (Clark) Minot of Boston; Harvard College, 1778; married Mary Speakman February 25, 1783; clerk, Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1782; founder, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791; judge of probate for County of Suffolk, 1792; chief justice, Court of Common Pleas of Suffolk County, 1799; judge, Municipal Court of Boston, 1800; first vice-president and later president of Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society; historian; died January 2, 1802.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 30" x 25". Half-length, body slightly to spectator's right, head slightly to spectator's left: hair powdered white, gray eyes; gray coat, white stock and ruffles; both hands holding a leather-bound book; table top indicated at right, red couch back at left; brown background. Inscription in ink on paper, probably dating from the latter part of the nineteenth century, and transferred at time of relining, glued to the back of the canvas gives name and history of the subject and adds "Painted by Guelliger [later changed to "Gullager"] in 1794."

**OWNERSHIP:** The present owner, Dr. George Richards Minot, is a direct descendant of the sitter. The portrait has never been out of family possession. Mary Minot, widow of the sitter, died in 1811. In a codicil of her will<sup>1</sup> she wrote: "I give to my son William all the Family Pictures." He in turn in his will,<sup>2</sup> proved in 1873, stated: "I give to my Son George Richards Minot the portrait of my Father." Following the death of this George Richards Minot it remained in the care of his unmarried daughters, hanging in the dining room of the family house, 245 Marlborough Street, Boston, until it came into the possession of their nephew, the present owner.

**COMMENTS:** This portrait, head and shoulders only, was reproduced in *The Polyanthos*, March 1806, to illustrate a sketch of the subject's life, written by his son William Minot. The print is inscribed "S. Harris sc./G. R. Minot, Esqr." The portrait is illustrated in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791-1835, published in 1879, and the following comment appears in the introduction: "That of Judge Minot is from an oil portrait by Gullager, a Boston artist, in possession of his grandson, Mr. George R. Minot, of Boston, to whom the thanks of the Society are due for a fine photograph of the picture for the Society's Cabinet."<sup>3</sup> There seems no reason to doubt the traditional attribution to Gullager. See discussion of No. 11.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records, Will (1811) No. 23840, vol. 109, p. 460.  
<sup>2</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records, Will (1873) No. 54145, vol. 464, p. 2. <sup>3</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1791-1835, 1879, p. xxxiv, (repr. opp. p. 42).

**GENERAL:** H. H. Sprague, *A Brief History of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society*, 1893, p. 25, (repr. opp. p. 18). H. W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1896, II, pp. 343, 364-366, (repr. opp. p. 364). The Copley Gallery, *Little Known Early American Portrait Painters*, no. 1, (repr.). J. J. Minot, *Ancestors and Descendants of George Richards Minot, 1758-1802*, 1936, pp. 14-15, 56.



Fig. 17. ELIZABETH (SEWALL) SALISBURY (Mrs. Samuel Salisbury)  
*Cut courtesy Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*

### 17. ELIZABETH (SEWALL) SALISBURY

**SUBJECT:** Born March 12, 1750, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Quincy) Sewall of Boston; married September 29, 1768, Samuel Salisbury (1739-1818), Boston merchant, son of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury (No. 18) and partner of his brother, Stephen Salisbury of Worcester, (No. 19). She had ten children; died March 25, 1789.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas,  $36\frac{1}{8}'' \times 29\frac{1}{8}''$ . Half-length, facing slightly toward spectator's right, seated on a rose-colored sofa, holding a brown leather-bound book in her hands; large frilled and beribboned cap on her grayish brown hair; light gray

eyes with distinct dark lines across tops of irises; light brown dress with lace ruffles at sleeves; white kerchief edged with embroidery; gray background.

OWNERSHIP: The Worcester Art Museum received this with other gifts of family pictures from the sitter's great-nephew, Stephen Salisbury, III, about 1899, recorded in the *Annual Report* for 1900. It has been presumed that this picture came to him by inheritance from his father but it is not listed in the manuscript "Memoranda of Portraits," written by Stephen Salisbury, II (1798-1884).<sup>1</sup> By 1891 it was owned by Stephen Salisbury III and lent to an exhibition organized by the Worcester Art Society.<sup>2</sup>

COMMENTS: Mrs. Salisbury's sudden death at the age of thirty-nine was a great grief and shock to her family. The Salisbury papers<sup>3</sup> indicate that at least two posthumous portraits were painted by Gullager. On April 29, 1789 Samuel Salisbury wrote to his brother, Stephen, "Mr Gulliker has exceeded my Expectation in the picture—". In another letter, May 31, 1789, he said, "I am much oblige to you for ye Pain you take to get a likeness of my dear Companion—I hope you wont fail to have your own taken." A further letter, June 16, 1789, adds the following comment: "I have seen the Picture Mr. Gulliker bro't down, and I think when the Eyes is cover'd it is a good likeness, but taking all the features together I think that which I have is a Stronger likeness, tho' a homely one." The "Memoranda of Portraits" written by Stephen Salisbury II speaks of the portrait of Stephen Salisbury I (No. 19) and then adds: "Christian Gullagher at the same time took portraits in bust ea £ 4.4<sup>s</sup> of Mrs Elizabeth Salisbury wife of Samuel from a portrait taken after death and of Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett wife of Samuel both of these went to near relatives." This being the case it may eventually be proved that the three-quarter length portrait owned by the Museum is that originally painted for Samuel Salisbury.

A "portrait in bust" evidently a replica or copy of the head and shoulders of the portrait now owned by the Worcester Art Museum is in the possession of Archibald G. Thacher. He inherited it from his wife, Ethel Davies, daughter of Julien Tappan Davies whose mother, Rebecca Waldo Tappan, was the daughter of Sarah Salisbury, eighth child of Elizabeth (Sewall) Salisbury and wife of John Tappan, Boston merchant.<sup>4</sup>

The Worcester Art Museum owns a small, eighteenth century miniature on ivory, 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 1 1/6" representing the head and shoulders of Elizabeth (Sewall) Salisbury wearing a cap and kerchief similar to those shown in the other two portraits. The artist is unknown. This may well be the original likeness from which the posthumous portraits were made. It was presented to the Museum in 1941 by Edward Kenway, a descendant of the sitter through her daughter Sarah (Salisbury) Tappan whose daughter, Mary Salisbury Tappan married James William Kimball, and whose granddaughter, Alice Kimball, married Herbert P. Kenway. The last-named were the parents of Edward Kenway and his sister Rosalind (Kenway) Lewis who formerly owned the miniature.

REFERENCES: In text: <sup>1</sup>Salisbury Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, manuscript volume "Genealogy of the Salisbury Family," pp. 37, 49. <sup>2</sup>Catalogue, *Loan Collection of Portraits Exhibited by the Worcester Art Society in the New Public Library Building*, 1891, No. 20, p. 3. <sup>3</sup>Preserved at the American Antiquarian Society. <sup>4</sup>Photograph at Frick Art Reference Library, New York, No. 10912. <sup>5</sup>Letter from Archibald G. Thacher, Feb. 4, 1949.

GENERAL: E. E. Salisbury, *Family Memorials*, 1885, I, pp. 37, 53, 65-69, 205. Catalogue, *Summer Exhibition of the Worcester Art Museum*, 1899, No. 159, p. 30. H. M. Forbes, "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930), pp. 4, 8 (repr.).



Fig. 18. MARTHA (SAUNDERS) SALISBURY (Mrs. Nicholas Salisbury)

## 18. MARTHA (SAUNDERS) SALISBURY

**SUBJECT:** Born April 22, 1704 in Boston, daughter of Josiah and Rebecca (Elbridge) Saunders; married Nicholas Salisbury, Boston merchant, October 1, 1724. In 1775 she came to live in Worcester with her son, Stephen Salisbury I (No. 19). Also among her eleven children were Rebecca (Salisbury) Waldo (No. 21), Elizabeth (Salisbury) Barrett (No. 1), and Samuel Salisbury, whose wife's portrait is No. 17. She died February 18, 1792.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 36" x 28½". Three-quarter length, seated in a wing chair upholstered with dull rose-colored damask; body and head turned slightly to spectator's right, gray eyes directed toward the spectator; sitter's left arm resting on a Bible open at "St John Chap. V" with her fore-finger indicating verse "39" beginning "Search the Scriptures"; on the table beside the Bible a partially open green snuff box; a pair of spectacles in sitter's right hand; a white bonnet framing her face which is that of a very old woman; olive green dress with white ruffles at the sleeves and a sheer white kerchief around the shoulders.

**OWNERSHIP:** This portrait came into the possession of the Worcester Art Museum together with Nos. 17 and 19 from the sitter's great-grandson Stephen Salisbury III about 1899, a gift recorded in the *Annual Report* for 1900. His father, Stephen Salisbury II, at some time before his death in 1884, included the following in a manuscript list, "Memoranda of Portraits":<sup>2</sup>

"of Mrs Martha Salisbury born April 22 1704 died Feby 17, 1792 in her 85 year by Christian Gullager July 10, 1789  
price as per receipt £ 5 . 12  
.....

of Mr Stephen Salisbury born Sept 25 1746 died May 11 1829 in his 43 year by Christian Gullager July 10 1789  
price £5 - 12"

Apparently Mr. Salisbury then had Gullager's receipt in his possession. It may be presumed that this portrait and No. 19 hung, from the time they were painted, first in the house built in Worcester by Stephen Salisbury I and then in that of his son, Stephen Salisbury II.

**COMMENTS:** There has never seemed to exist any doubt that this portrait was the work of Christian Gullager. It was presumably painted when the artist was in Worcester from May 25 until June 13, 1789 (see page 109).<sup>3</sup>

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>E. E. Salisbury, *Family-Memorials*, 1885, I, pp. 17, 36-37. <sup>2</sup>Salisbury Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, "Genealogy of the Salisbury Family," pp. 37, 49. <sup>3</sup>S. Salisbury I, Large Ledger (PG), preserved at the American Antiquarian Society, p. 286.

**GENERAL:** Worcester Art Society, *Loan Collection of Portraits Exhibited . . . in the New Public Library Building*, 1891, p. 3, No. 19. Worcester Art Museum, *Summer Exhibition*, 1899, p. 30, No. 158. Worcester Art Museum *Bulletin*, VI (July, 1915) no. 2, pp. 2 (repr.), 8. Worcester Art Museum, *Exhibition of American Eighteenth Century Art Owned in and near Worcester*, 1929, No. 327. H. M. Forbes, "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930) pp. 3, 4, 5 (repr.). Worcester Art Museum, *A Guide to the Collections*, 1933, p. 95 (repr.). Worcester Art Museum, *Art through Fifty Centuries*, 1948, p. 78 (repr.). M. Watkins, "Antique Spectacles," *Antiques*, LIV (1948) p. 430 (repr.).



Fig. 19. STEPHEN SALISBURY I

## 19. STEPHEN SALISBURY I

**SUBJECT:** Born September 25, 1746 in Boston, son of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury (No. 18); entered into partnership with his brother Samuel, Boston merchant, and, in 1767, established a store for hardware and other goods in Worcester; purchased a considerable amount of land on part of which now stands the Worcester Art Museum, of which his grandson, Stephen Salisbury III, has been the principal benefactor; married Elizabeth Tuckerman, January 31, 1797; died May 11, 1829. Of his three children, two died in childhood.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas on pulp board, 35 5/8" x 29". Three-quarter length, facing slightly toward spectator's right, gray-green eyes with black lines at tops of irises directed toward the spectator; seated in an easy pose with knees crossed in a green-painted Windsor chair; graying or lightly powdered hair; bottle green coat with large green buttons edged with gilded metal; black breeches with silver knee buckle; gold and gray striped waistcoat; white ruffles at wrists and white neckcloth and jabot.

**OWNERSHIP:** The same as No. 18.

**COMMENTS:** Stephen Salisbury II's "Memoranda of Portraits" (see No. 18) lists this picture as by Gullager; this attribution is given in the family genealogy published in 1885;<sup>2</sup> and is sustained by present day criticism. It is curious, therefore, that Stephen Salisbury III was under the impression that the artist was Horace C. Johnson. (A Connecticut artist of this name was active in the mid-nineteenth century.) As early as 1878 a "Portrait of S. Salisbury" by "Johnson" lent by "S. Salisbury" was No. 28 in the catalogue of the Worcester Art Society's first loan exhibition held at the rooms of the Board of Trade. In the catalogue of the Worcester Art Society's 1891 *Loan Collection of Portraits Exhibited . . . in the New Public Library Building* this portrait was No. 31 and bore the same attribution. No. 32 in this catalogue was the second version of the portrait of Rebecca (Salisbury) Waldo (referred to in the comments on No. 21) likewise listed as by Horace C. Johnson. Both these portraits were again listed as by Horace C. Johnson in the catalogue of the 1899 summer exhibition at the Worcester Art Museum (Nos. 160 and 161) and in the *Annual Report* of 1900. It is possible that the portrait of Mrs. Waldo may have been painted by John Johnston, 1752-1818, after the Gullager portrait, No. 21, and that the name "Johnson," clinging to one of the portraits, may have given rise to an incorrect assumption.

There seems much reason to think that, like No. 18, this portrait was painted by Christian Gullager in Worcester between May 25 and June 13, 1789. (See page 109 and comments on No. 17.)

**REFERENCES:** In text: 'Salisbury Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, "Genealogy of the Salisbury Family," p. 49. "E. E. Salisbury, *Family - Memorials*, 1885, I, p. 34.

**GENERAL:** E. E. Salisbury, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 32-35. Worcester Art Museum *Bulletin* VI (1915) no. 2, pp. 4 (repr.), 8 (here attributed to John Johnston). H. M. Forbes "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930) pp. 4, 6 (repr.).



Fig. 20. DANIEL WALDO  
*Cut courtesy Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*

#### 20. DANIEL WALDO

**SUBJECT:** Born October 29, 1724, son of Cornelius and Faith (Savage) Waldo of Boston; married May 3, 1757 Rebecca, daughter of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury (See Nos. 21 and 18); hardware merchant in Boston until 1775 and, after brief stays in Providence and Lancaster, in Worcester from about 1782; died in Worcester December 12, 1808. Ten children.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas,  $35\frac{3}{4}$ " x  $29\frac{1}{2}$ ". Three-quarter length, facing slightly to spectator's left, seated in a bow-backed wooden chair beside a window at the left through which may be seen the ocean, a cloudy sky, and a ship in full sail; sitter's left hand on left thigh, his right hand resting on a low table at window; large white wig, blue eyes with distinct dark lines at tops of irises; brown coat, black waistcoat and breeches; sheer white ruffles at wrist and throat; gray background with dull rose-colored fringed curtain draped at left above window.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait and that of Mrs. Waldo (No. 21) came into the possession of the Worcester Art Museum from the estate of Mrs. John W. Wetherell (Hester Newton) of Worcester who had died in 1899. She was a great-granddaughter of the sitter through her mother, Rebecca (Lincoln) Newton, and her grandmother, Martha (Waldo) Lincoln. However, as is evident from a study of the wills<sup>1</sup> in the Worcester County Probate Records the portraits probably descended in a less direct manner. Daniel Waldo bequeathed all his "Household furniture, including plate, pictures, and every article and thing in use or ornamental in the course of Housekeeping" to his wife who, in turn, left these objects to her unmarried son and daughters, Daniel, Elizabeth, Sarah and Rebecca. These four kept house together and, as they died, willed their household furniture to the survivors among them. Sarah, the last of the group, bequeathed her household furniture to her sister Martha's daughter, Mrs. Rebecca Newton. The portraits are not specifically mentioned but it may be assumed they went with the household furniture. Mrs. Newton died intestate in 1855. The will of her husband, Rejoice Newton, who died in 1868, does not mention pictures. In the *Catalogue of the Oil Paintings and Water Colors of the Third Annual Exhibition of the Worcester Art Society at Horticultural Hall, April, 1880*, Nos. 52 and 53 are portraits of Daniel Waldo and Mrs. Daniel Waldo by J. S. Copley owned by Mrs. J. W. Wetherell. They were listed again with the same attribution and owner as numbers 4 and 5 in the catalogue of a *Loan Collection of Portraits Exhibited by the Worcester Art Society in the New Public Library Building, 1891*. On February 20, 1900 they were deposited in the Museum by the executors of the estate of Mrs. Wetherell though the gift was not formally confirmed until December 1, 1922.<sup>2</sup>

COMMENTS: The attribution to Copley given above was followed by one to John Johnston.<sup>3</sup> Now, however, documentary evidence supports the theory that Gullager painted both portraits.<sup>4</sup> On September 6, 1789 Samuel Salisbury, Boston merchant and brother of Mrs. Waldo, wrote to another brother, Stephen, in Worcester: "Mr Gulliker desires you would inform Mr Waldo, that he should have gone up this Stage but it was full—he has Engag'd a passage on Wednesday when they may depend on seeing him." Next day Samuel concluded another letter: "Mr Gulliker being waiting, I must conclude," and addressed it to:

Mr. Stephen Salisbury

Worcester

Mr. Gulliker

Since this letter is now with Stephen Salisbury's correspondence at the American Antiquarian Society it is proof that Gullager did make the trip to see Mr. and Mrs. Waldo.

REFERENCES: In text: <sup>1</sup>Worcester County Probate Records, Will (1809) No. A61154; Will (1811) No. A61158; Will (1840) No. A61159; Will (1846) No. A61155; Will (1845) No. A61156; Will (1851) No. A61160; Administration (1858) No. A43371; Will (1868) No. A43372; Will (1899) No. B25065. <sup>2</sup>Letter from T. H. Gage, executor, to R. Henniker-Heaton, director of the Worcester Art Museum, December 1, 1922. <sup>3</sup>Worcester Art Museum, *Bulletin*, VI (July, 1915) no. 2, p. 8; reproduction of *Daniel Waldo*, p. 5. F. W. Coburn, "The Johnstons of Boston," *Art in America*, XXI (1933) 138. <sup>4</sup>H. M. Forbes, "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (July, 1930) 4, 13 (reproduction of *Daniel Waldo*).

GENERAL: E. E. Salisbury, *Family-Memorials*, 1885, I, p. 21. W. Lincoln, *Genealogy of the Waldo Family*, 1902, I, pp. 158-163 (including reproductions of both portraits), 272-280. Worcester Art Museum, *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings*, 1922, p. 188. Worcester Art Museum, *Annual Report* 1923, p. 15.



Fig. 21. REBECCA (SALISBURY) WALDO (Mrs. Daniel Waldo)

## 21. REBECCA (SALISBURY) WALDO

**SUBJECT:** Born March 27, 1731, daughter of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury (No. 18) of Boston; married Daniel Waldo (No. 20) May 3, 1757; moved with him to Providence and Lancaster after the beginning of the Revolution, and finally settled in Worcester about 1782; died September 25, 1811. Ten children.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 35 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Half-length, facing slightly toward spectator's right, seated on a sofa upholstered in rose-colored damask; large "queen's nightcap" of sheer white material trimmed with frills and ribbons; brown hair, grayish brown eyes with dark lines at tops of irises; greenish blue dress over which is worn a transparent black lace garment; white kerchief at the neck and white ruffles at the elbows; around her neck a narrow black ribbon; both hands visible, resting on her lap. Background grayish green with fluted column and dull rose, fringed drapery at right.

**OWNERSHIP:** The same as No. 20.

**COMMENTS:** For the attribution of this portrait to Gullager see comments on No. 20. In the collection of the Worcester Art Museum is another portrait of Mrs. Waldo<sup>1</sup> wearing a similar cap, dress and kerchief, and facing in the same direction. However, the piece of furniture on which she is seated is different, there is no column and drapery, and she holds a book in her right hand. It is evidently inspired by the Gullager portrait and was presented to the museum about 1899<sup>2</sup> by Stephen Salisbury III with an attribution to Horace C. Johnson, nineteenth century Connecticut artist. It is possible that this was a mistake for John Johnston, 1752-1818. The picture has also been attributed to Gullager himself. William Sawitzky thought that it might be by John Johnston after Gullager. For the present its authorship must remain an open question. See comments on No. 19.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>H. M. Forbes, "Some Salisbury Family Portraits," *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930) p. 15 (repr.). <sup>2</sup>Worcester Art Museum, *Summer Exhibition*, 1899, no. 161, p. 30; Worcester Art Museum, *Annual Report*, 1900, p. 11.

**GENERAL:** A. M. Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 1903, II, pp. xiv, 554, 555 (repr. of No. 21). See references for No. 20.

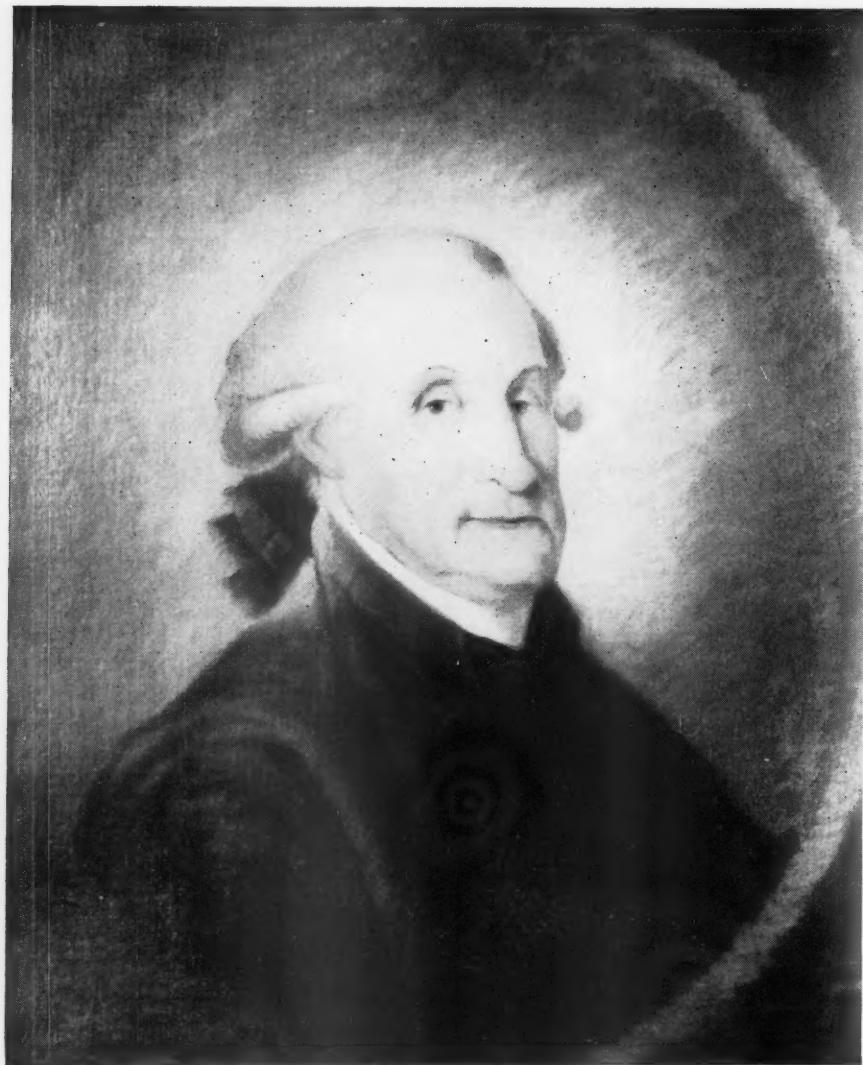


Fig. 22. GEORGE WASHINGTON

## 22. GEORGE WASHINGTON

**SUBJECT:** Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 11/22, 1732, son of Augustine and Mary (Ball) Washington; married Martha (Dandridge) Custis, January 6, 1759; appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces June 15, 1775 and served until 1783; President of the United States, 1789-1797; paid an official visit to New England in the autumn of 1789; died December 14, 1799.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 29 3/4" x 24 11/16". Head and shoulders in a painted oval, three-quarters to spectator's right. White hair, dressed in a wig-like manner with curls over the ears and tied at the nape of the neck with a black ribbon; gray eyes; black coat, plain white neck cloth. Background light gray behind head within a brown oval edged with dashingly painted light brown at right and fading into the background at left.

**OWNERSHIP:** Shortly after this portrait was painted some Boston gentlemen organized a raffle to raise money to purchase it from the artist. Won by Daniel Sargent, Jr., it was presented by him to the clergyman and historian, Dr. Jeremy Belknap,<sup>1</sup> and in 1798 was listed in the inventory of Dr. Belknap's estate as hanging in his study: "Portrait of Geo. Washington — 1.50."<sup>2</sup> It then became the property of Dr. Belknap's daughter, Elisabeth, who was born in 1774 and lived until 1865. She remembered the circumstances concerning the painting of the portrait, and how it came into her father's possession, and she was the authority for the facts later published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mrs. Arthur Codman, great-granddaughter of Dr. Belknap, stated that these circumstances were also well known to her grandfather, John Belknap, with whom the portrait was left for safekeeping by his sister, Elisabeth. After his death in 1856 Miss Belknap reclaimed the portrait and gave it to Mrs. Codman's father, Edward Belknap through whom it came to her.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Codman presented it to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1921 together with papers relating to its ownership.<sup>4</sup>

**COMMENTS:** On Saturday, October 24, 1789, George Washington arrived in Boston for an official visit to New England. Dr. Jeremy Belknap recorded the event in the interleaved almanac<sup>5</sup> in which he kept memoranda. Concerning the fourth day of the visit, October 27, he wrote:

"27. Genl Washington having appointed this day for the Clergy of this Town to wait upon him, we went at ten o'clock to his lodgings & paid him our Respects — after w[hich] he went to the chapel & heard Music — & then dined at Faneuil Hall by invitation of the Gov & Council a very large Company was invited —

"N B. While he was in the chapel, Gullager, the painter stole a likeness of him from a Pew behind the pulpit.

"When I was introduced to Gen Washington he sd to me 'I am indebted to you Sir for the History of New Hampshire & it gave me great pleasure.'

"N B. Gullager followed Gen W to Portsm[outh] where he sat 2 1/2 hours for him to take his portrait wh[ich] he did & obtained a very good likeness — after wh[ich] he laid aside the sketch wh[ich] he took in the Chapel — wh[ich] however was not a bad one."

Washington's account, in his own diary,<sup>6</sup> coincides with the above:

"Tuesday — 27<sup>th</sup>. . . . at 11 went to an Oratorio — . . . at 3 Oclock, I dined at a large & elegant Dinner at Faneuil Hall, given by the Govr. and Council, and spent the evening at my lodgings. — when the Committee from the Town presented their Address it was accompanied with a request (in behalf they said of the Ladies) that I would set to have my Picture taken for the Hall, that others might be copied from it for the use of their respective families — As all the next day was assigned to various purposes and I was engaged to leave town on Thursday early, I informed them of the impracticability of my doing this, but that I would have it drawn when I returned to New York, if there was a good Painter there — or by Mr. Trumbull when he should arrive, and would send it to them."

A week later he wrote:

"Tuesday — 3d. Sat two hours in the forenoon for a Mr. Painter of Boston, at the request of Mr. Brick of that place; who wrote Majr. Jackson that it was an earnest desire of many of the Inhabitants of that Town that he might be indulged."

According to information received from Miss Elisabeth Belknap the portrait painted at Portsmouth was that given to Dr. Belknap and now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Either from this portrait or from the sketch made in King's Chapel, the location of which is not now known, a replica was apparently painted by the artist. Charles Gulager speaks of it in a letter dated March 5, 1832<sup>7</sup> as having been "exhibited on Broadway and at the Centennial Celebration [February 22, 1832] at the door of a Mr. Paff" and apparently confuses it with the original of the existence of which he evidently was not then aware. Henry Gulager, another son of the artist, writing from New York, May 22, 1838,<sup>8</sup> stated that it must have been when the Gullager family was in New York about 1798 that "the portrait went into the hands of Mr. Paff, who was, as now, a dealer in pictures, how or by what means Paff has always been unwilling to communicate in the frequent conversations I have had with him on the subject." Sometime before 1838 Mr. Paff had sold the portrait to Mr. Saunders, a hairdresser, who exhibited it at his establishment, 137 Broadway, New York. In May of that year, when Saunders offered it for sale before departing for England, Mr. Paff stated in the *Morning Courier and New York Inquirer* that it had been his property "for upwards of twenty years" and was exhibited on the outside of his door every Fourth of July during that period.<sup>9</sup> What eventually happened to this portrait must remain an open question. A note,<sup>10</sup> presumably by Henry Gulager, states:

"The portrait has been in England and the London [True] Sun published a very handsome article highly creditable to the picture and the painter which paper is now in my possession"<sup>11</sup> The date of this article is unfortunately not known. Mrs. Arthur Codman wrote<sup>12</sup> that "the second original" was "destroyed by fire in N. Y." She did not mention a date but 1835 has been given as the year this occurred.<sup>13</sup> If correct, a third version of the Washington portrait must have existed.

\* \* \*

Gullager made a bust of Washington during the winter 1789-1790 which attracted considerable attention at the time. Apparently he produced several replicas and it is likely that one or more are in existence today. So far, however, they have not been identified and it seems appropriate to include here references to this phase of Gullager's work.

The completion of the bust was announced with considerable fanfare in the news columns of the *Massachusetts Centinel*, March 27, 1790:

#### *THE ARTS.*

"Nothing gives us more satisfaction, than to note the happy advancement of the Arts and Sciences in our country. At present we have the peculiar pleasure of announcing to the Citizens of America, the completion, by Mr. GULLAGER, of an elegant bust of THE PRESIDENT of the *United States*, in Plaster of Paris, as large as the life—in which the beholder, at first view, recognizes the Great Deliverer of our Country. The Connoisseurs who have visited Mr. GULLAGER's room, to examine this beautiful piece of statuary, are unanimous in pronouncing its merits, and the merits of the ingenious artist who has produced it. While our country is favoured with the presence of such denizens as Mr. G. there will be little occasion for the continuation of the absurd and degrading practice of sending to Europe for our statues and monuments."

It was evidently a few days before the news reached the Rev. William Bentley of Salem, always interested in likenesses of historical importance. He wrote in his diary April 5, 1790:<sup>11</sup>

"Mr Gullager, of Boston has compleated a Bust of General Washington in Plaster of Paris, as large as Life."

An entry concerning this bust is to be found in the minutes of the Selectmen of Boston, June 16, 1790:<sup>12</sup>

"On the application of Mr. Christian Gullager, that he may place the Bust of President Washington in Faneuil Hall in such a situation as shall be Judged best by the Selectmen—Liberty is accordingly granted—& there to remain."

A few weeks later, on September 1, 1790, the *Gazette of the United States*, then being published in New York, carried the following:

"The public were some time since informed in the Massachusetts Centinel, that a Bust of the President of the United States had been executed by Mr. Gullager of Boston, in Plaster of Paris; this statue, the first of the kind ever produced in the United States, is now in this city; several gentlemen of late have seen it, and it is pronounced a fine likeness of the illustrious personage it is intended to represent. A correspondent being informed that the object of the Artist is to dispose of this specimen of his abilities, cannot but wish he may receive an adequate compensation for his labor and ingenuity, especially as they have been so happily directed. We are informed that the statue is open for inspection at Mrs. Loring's, No. 4, Bread-Way, near the Bowling-Green."

In 1882, Elizabeth Bryant Johnston, in her book on the portraits of Washington, wrote:

"Gullager's grandsons say that busts were in this artist's rooms, made by himself. One or two old casts in the collection of the Boston Museum may have been his work, as in age and crudeness they correspond with what he might have produced, and differ essentially from all other busts of Washington seen by the author."<sup>13</sup>

She did not believe that the marble bust now in Christ Church, Boston,<sup>14</sup> the gift of Shubael Bell early in the nineteenth century, was after one of Gullager's as has been suggested.

REFERENCES: In text: <sup>1</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, III (1855-1858) pp. 309-310, engraving by William E. Marshall opp. p. 309. <sup>2</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records, Inventory (1798) No. 20890, vol. 96, p. 613 (also listed as in the study: "Washington in basso reliefo - - -25"). <sup>3</sup>Manuscript statement by Mrs. Arthur Codman, preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society; H. W. G., Letter from Mrs. Codman to William Gulager, April 21, 1879. <sup>4</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LIV (1921) pp. 289-290. <sup>5</sup>Preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society. <sup>6</sup>Manuscript in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. <sup>7</sup>H. W. G. <sup>8</sup>E. B. Johnston, *Original Portraits of Washington*, 1882, pp. 56-57. <sup>9</sup>H. W. G. (The copy of this note seen by the writer gave the name of the publication as the "Free" Sun, presumably a mistake in copying. The Times, *Tercentenary Handlist of English & Welsh Newspapers, Magazines & Reviews*, 1920, p. 62 lists True Sun, No. 1-442, March 5, 1832-Dec. 23, 1837.) <sup>10</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LIV (1921) p. 290. <sup>11</sup>*The Diary of William Bentley, D. D.*, 1905, I, p. 158. <sup>12</sup>*A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston Containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1787 through 1798*, 1896, p. 124. <sup>13</sup>Johnston, *op. cit.*, 146-147. <sup>14</sup>Bostonian Society Publications, III, 2nd series (1919) p. 51; Johnston, *op. cit.*, repr. opp. p. 146.

GENERAL: R. W. Griswold, *The Republican Court*, 1855, p. 356. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56, pl. IX. *Book Lovers Magazine*, V (1905) p. 161 (repr.). J. H. Morgan and M. Fielding, *The Life Portraits of Washington and Their Replicas*, 1931, pp. 151-155, repr. opp. p. 152. G. A. Eisen, *Portraits of Washington*, 1932, II, pp. 427-428, 591, 657 (repr.); III, pp. 848-849. United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, *Loan Exhibition of Portraits*, 1937, pp. 78-79, No. 111.



Fig. 23. DAVID WEST

## 23. DAVID WEST

**SUBJECT:** Born January 6, 1765 in Boston, son of David and Sarah (Presbury) West; bookseller and publisher, first in partnership with O. C. Greenleaf and then with Lemuel Blake; married, first, Hannah Watts; married, second, March 8, 1795, Abigail, daughter of Zephaniah Leonard; father of David West, Jr. (No. 24) and Abigail Leonard West (No. 25); died May 27, 1810.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 25 3/4" x 20". Head and shoulders facing slightly to spectator's left, against light, gray-brown background within a dark brown oval the edge of which at right is defined with dashing lighter strokes; brown hair slightly graying or powdered, tied at back with ribbon, gray eyes directed toward the spectator; dark blue-green coat with high collar and two large silver buttons; pale blue and white striped silk waistcoat with two gilt buttons; white neckcloth and jabot.

**OWNERSHIP:** Owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, the bequest of Henry W. Cunningham of Milton who died in 1930. His will contained the following: "5. I give to the American Antiquarian Society, founded in the year 1812, . . . my oil portrait of my great-grandfather, David West, painted by Christian Gullager, and the two smaller portraits of David West's two children."<sup>2</sup> The three portraits were received by the Society in February, 1931. No portraits are listed in the detailed inventory of David West's estate.<sup>3</sup> See No. 25.

**COMMENTS:** Close stylistic resemblance to the portraits of Colonel John May (No. 15) and George Richards Minot (No. 16) strongly support the traditional attribution of this portrait to Christian Gullager.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, V (1851) p. 414<sup>1</sup>; XIV (1860) p. 84; F. L. Weis, *Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1947, p. 63, No. 139. <sup>2</sup>*American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, XLI, new series, (1931), pp. 5, 6, 10, 285. <sup>3</sup>*Suffolk County Probate Records, Inventory* (1810) No. 23540, vol. 108, p. 297.

**GENERAL:** F. W. Bayley and C. E. Goodspeed, eds. *Dunlap's History . . . of the Arts of Design*, (1918) III, p. 305.



Fig. 24. DAVID WEST, JR.

## 24. DAVID WEST, JR.

**SUBJECT:** Born February 7, 1790 in Boston; son of David (No. 23) and Hannah (Watts) West; attended Harvard College, 1804-1807 but did not graduate; went on a voyage to the Pacific, 1818-1822, as clerk on the ship *Arab* of Boston commanded by Captain Isaiah Lewis; died February 13, 1825 in Pomfret, Connecticut.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 17". Half-length of young boy holding with both hands a small, dark brown dog, head and shoulders to spectator's right, large brown eyes full front; light brown hair hanging to shoulders; blue-green suit with silver buttons, white ruffled collar and white ruffle at right wrist; gray-brown background with dull red curtain in upper right corner.

**OWNERSHIP:** See Nos. 23 and 25.

**COMMENTS:** See No. 23. The close stylistic resemblance to the portrait of David West, as well as the treatment of such details as hands and curtain, support an attribution to Gullager.

**REFERENCES:** In text; <sup>1</sup>F. L. Weis, *Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1947, p. 63, No. 140.



Fig. 25. ABIGAIL LEONARD WEST

## 25. ABIGAIL LEONARD WEST

**SUBJECT:** Born February 2, 1796 in Boston; daughter of David (No. 23) and Abigail (Leonard) West who married in 1811, as her second husband, Andrew Cunningham, Sr. (1760-1829); married March 27, 1816, Andrew Cunningham, Jr. (1786-1861) Boston shipowner and merchant; had eleven children, five of whom died young; died in Boston, March 9, 1879.<sup>1</sup>

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 17". Full length of a baby perhaps one year old or more, seated on a vari-colored rug (blue, white, yellow, red), body facing slightly to spectator's right, head and blue eyes slightly to spectator's left, left arm supported on green upholstered footstool, left hand holding red shoe with silver buckle; light brown hair; short-sleeved pink dress with narrow band of lace at low neck; gray-brown background with red, tasselled curtain in upper right corner.

**OWNERSHIP:** See No. 23. James Henry Cunningham (1825-1891), son of the sitter, was the father of Henry W. Cunningham, from whom the West portraits came to the American Antiquarian Society. A codicil dated 1876 of the will of Abigail Leonard (West) Cunningham directs that her portraits be divided among her sons, James Henry, Horace and David West.<sup>2</sup>

**COMMENTS:** See Nos. 23 and 24. It is obvious this picture is by the same hand as that of David West, Jr. and both are sufficiently strongly linked stylistically with that of David West to support an attribution to Gullager. This portrait was included in the exhibition of early American portraits of children held at the New York Historical Society in 1948.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>F. L. Weis, *Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1947, p. 62, No. 137. H. W. Cunningham, "Andrew Cunningham of Boston and Some of His Descendants," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LV (1901) pp. 421, 422. <sup>2</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records, Will (1879) No. 62614, vol. 511, p. 42.



Fig. 26. THE REVEREND GEORGE SPAFFORD WOODHULL

## 26. GEORGE SPAFFORD WOODHULL

**SUBJECT:** Born March 31, 1773 in Leacock, Pennsylvania, son of the Rev. John Woodhull and his wife, Sarah Spafford; College of New Jersey, 1790; licensed to preach, 1797; ordained and installed as pastor at the church at Cranbury near Princeton, New Jersey, in 1798; married Gertrude Neilson in 1799; had four children; became trustee of the College of New Jersey, 1807; pastor of Princeton Presbyterian church, 1820-1832; then pastor of church at Middletown Point, now Matawan, New Jersey, where he died December 25, 1834.

**DESCRIPTION:** Canvas, 36 9/16" x 26 1/2". Half-length, slightly to spectator's right, seated in a green-painted wooden chair at a table covered with a green cloth, his left arm resting on the back of the chair, his right hand on an open book, holding a paper; brown eyes directed toward the spectator, brown hair; black suit with black waistcoat; chain, gold key and fob; on the table two smaller, brown-bound books and a metal inkwell with a white quill pen; brown column behind the sitter's head, red drapery above and to the right, blue sky with clouds at left.

**OWNERSHIP:** Princeton University is the present owner. The history of the portrait is unknown. The inventory of the estate of the Rev. George S. Woodhull does not list a portrait which might be this one though four French pictures and three Italian pictures are mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

**COMMENTS:** On the back of this portrait was written before relining, "Rev. G. S. Woodhull about 1808." William Sawitzky, judging from a photograph, made the present attribution: "In my opinion the portrait is by Christian Gullager and was painted in the 1790's." Examination of the picture itself supports this statement. In October and November, 1797, Gullager was advertising in New York. On November 2 of that year George S. Woodhull received a letter,<sup>2</sup> addressed to him at Freehold, New Jersey, from his brother, William H. Woodhull, in New York asking him to come to that city. If he went it is possible that he was painted by Gullager at that time. There were doubtless other opportunities, either in New York or Philadelphia.

This portrait, if the attribution is correct, has special interest as representing the artist's work after he left New England.

A copy of this portrait, by Edward Ludlow Mooney (1813-1887), is likewise owned by Princeton University, presented by the subject's son, Dr. John Neilson Woodhull.

**REFERENCES:** In text: <sup>1</sup>Letter from the Monmouth County Surrogate's Office, April 4, 1949.  
<sup>2</sup>Preserved at the Library, Princeton University.

**GENERAL:** D. D. Egbert, *Princeton Portraits*, 1947, pp. 193-195, figs. 130, 131.



Fig. 27. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

## 27. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

SUBJECT: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Canvas,  $20\frac{1}{2}''$  x  $16\frac{1}{4}''$ . Head and shoulders to spectator's right, eyes directed toward spectator; light brown hair; light greenish gray coat with green buttons, white neckcloth and ruffles. Light brownish gray background with red curtain at upper right; brown, dashingly painted oval, well-defined at bottom and indicated at upper left.

OWNERSHIP: Bequeathed to the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1948 by Mrs. Frederic Saltonstall Gould. The previous history of this portrait is unknown. Mrs. Gould was a collector of American painting.

COMMENTS: This picture came to the Wadsworth Atheneum entitled "Colonial Gentleman by John Trumbull" and is so labeled on the back. Since its arrival at Hartford it has been attributed to Gullager by Bartlett Cowdrey and Esther I. Seaver. Comparison with the Greenleaf portraits (Nos. 13 and 14) sustains this attribution.

REFERENCES: GENERAL: Wadsworth Atheneum, *Bulletin*, September, 1948.



Fig. 28. FRONTISPICE: Massachusetts Magazine, II

Engraving by Samuel Hill after Gullager

## 28. FRONTISPIECE, MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE, II

**SUBJECT:** An allegorical group drawn by Gullager and engraved on copper by Samuel Hill as frontispiece for the *Massachusetts Magazine*, Volume II, 1790.

**DESCRIPTION:** Engraving on copper,  $5\frac{9}{16}'' \times 3\frac{21}{32}''$ . Two female figures in foreground on either side of a globe which is inscribed: "EUROPE. AMERICA. ASI AFRICA." The figure to the right is clothed and holds what is apparently a Liberty cap on a pole; the figure to the left is only slightly draped. In the background two crude figures, a man in armor and a woman, slink off to the left. In the foreground are two keys, an open book inscribed "THE Rights of MEN.", broken chains and a mask.

Inscribed: *Massa. Mag. FRONTISPIECE. VOL. II. 1790. / C. Gullager, Del.  
Engrav'd by S. Hill.*

**OWNERSHIP:** American Antiquarian Society.

**COMMENTS:** The *Massachusetts Magazine* carried the following explanation of this frontispiece:

"THE right hand figure is the Genius of Liberty, crowned with a brilliant glory. The hand, resting upon a terrestrial globe, marked with the four grand divisions of the world, intimates the final emancipation of all kingdoms from slavery. AMERICA, as having received the prime illuminations of Freedom, glows with an intense purity of light, which no darkling clouds are admitted to adumbrate. EUROPE, appears kindling into blaze, whilst progressive irradiations verge towards ASIA, and soften the tenebrous horrors of AFRICA.

"Upon the left, is the portrait of Heavenly Truth, sunned with the cloudless effulgence of upper spheres. Her flowing garments, denote that superior excellence which needs no aid from borrowed ornament. The exposure of almost every limb, indicates mental purity, armed with ever conscious innocence. Her attitude is that of fervent devotion. Celestial rapture beams upon her animated countenance; and the Goddess of Liberty contemplates her with marked complacence, mingled with reverential awe.

"Tyranny, Falsehood, and their infernal attendants, tremble at the glorious scene, and retreat with precipitate dread, from before the guardian powers of human right."

Samuel Hill, who was active in Boston from 1789 until *circa* 1803, engraved many plates for the *Massachusetts Magazine*, which was established in January, 1789 by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. A number of these plates may have been after sketches by Gullager but this seems to be the only one which bears his name.



P. Gullager del.

Engraved by S. Hill.

Then amidst you Chiefs retire,  
Seated round the sacred fire,  
Waiting for the warrior-feast,  
Let them hail thee as their guest.

Fig. 29. FRONTISPICE: Ouâbi or the Virtues of Nature  
Engraving by Samuel Hill after Gullager

To MISS EMMA FORBES WAITE of the staff of the American Antiquarian Society the present writer is indebted for bringing Gullager's connection with this engraving to her attention.

## 29. FRONTISPIECE, OUÂBI OR THE VIRTUES OF NATURE

**SUBJECT:** Ouâbi, a chieftain of the Illinois, welcomes Celario, a European, who has just saved the life of Azâkia, wife of Ouâbi. Drawn by Gullager and engraved on copper by Samuel Hill as frontispiece for the narrative poem *Ouâbi or the Virtues of Nature* by "Philenia, a Lady of Boston," published in 1790.

**DESCRIPTION:** Engraving on copper,  $5\frac{13}{32}$ " x  $3\frac{5}{8}$ ". A group of three persons; at the spectator's right the dominating figure of Ouâbi with a headdress of waving plumes who gestures with his left hand toward shadowy figures of Indians gathered in the distance around a fire; in the center, the slight figure of the European, Celario, dressed in a long-tailed coat, knee breeches, and high-crowned hat; and at the spectator's left, Azâkia, in a full dress which, in spite of its fringe and broad belt has a very civilized look, an effect increased by her hair, elaborately dressed with beads and feathers in a manner not too far removed from the current mode (see No. 14). In the left background is a wooded slope.

**Inscribed:** C. Gullager Del. Engrav'd by S. Hill. / Then amidst yon Chiefs retire, / Seated round the sacred fire, / Waiting for the warrior-feast, / Let them hail thee as their guest.

**OWNERSHIP:** American Antiquarian Society. This copy of *Ouâbi* is in its original gold-tooled leather binding and contains the book-plate of Isaiah Thomas from whom it came into the possession of the Society which he founded.

**COMMENTS:** *Ouâbi or the Virtues of Nature* was written by Sarah Wentworth (Apthorp) Morton (1759-1846), wife of Perez Morton who later became attorney-general of Massachusetts. Her contemporaries considered her the outstanding American poetess. As "Philenia" she wrote verses for the *Massachusetts Magazine*, published by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, and they issued *Ouâbi*, her first published volume. She retained the pseudonym of "Philenia" in spite of the fact that Governor Bowdoin (No. 5), to whom she had written concerning her intention of dedicating the volume to him, replied that "In room of PHILENIA, he thinks it would be best the real name of the fair author should be substituted." About 1802 Gilbert Stuart painted three portraits of this charming woman, one of which, an unfinished sketch, is owned by the Worcester Art Museum.

It is interesting to realize how closely Gullager tried to follow the text he was illustrating. The noble savage is shown uttering the cordial invitation to be a guest at the warrior-feast which forms the caption of the engraving. The poetess described him thus:

"High from his head the painted plumes arose,  
His sounding bow was o'er his shoulder flung, .....

Adown his ears the glist'ning rings descend,  
His manly arms the clasping bracelets bind,  
From his broad chest the vari'd beads depend,  
And all the hero tow'r'd within his mind."

Of Azâkia she wrote: "With splendid beads her braided tresses shone,  
Her bending waist a modest girdle bound,"

How much of the ineptness of the result was due to the original sketch and how much to the engraver must remain a question—but Gullager's lack of ability at depicting the human body with anatomical correctness is emphasized here.

**REFERENCES: GENERAL:** E. Pendleton and M. Ellis, *Philenia, The Life and Works of Sarah Wentworth Morton*, University of Maine Studies, 2nd series, no. 20, (1931) pp. 44-47, 83.

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